STUDIES IN INDO-ASIAN ART AND CULTURE

VOL. 3

PERALA RATNAM

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आचार्य-रघुवीर-समुपक्रान्तं

जम्बुद्वीप-राष्ट्राणां
(भारत-नेपाल-गान्धार-शूलिक-तुरुष्क-पारस-ताजक-भोट-चीन-मोंगोल-मञ्जु-
उदयवर्ष-सिंहल-सुवर्णभू-श्याम-कम्बुज-चम्पा-द्वीपान्तरादीनां)

**एकैकेषां समस्रोतसां संस्कृति-साहित्य-समुच्चय-
सरितां सागरभूतं**

शतपिटकम्

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ACHARYA RAGHU VIRA (1902-1963)

MIYOKO NAKANO
SAPPORO (JAPAN)

THE *RGYA-DKAR-NAG RGYA-SER KA-SMI-RA BAL BOD HOR-GYI YI-GE DAṄ DPE-RIS RNAM-GRAṄS MAṄ-BA* AND SOME REMARKS ON THE 'PHAGS-PA SCRIPT*

I.1. The Chinese blockprint *Rgya-dkar-nag rgya-ser ka-smi-ra bal bod hor-gyi yi-ge daṅ dpe-ris rnam-graṅs maṅ-ba* [abbr. *RDN*] is now held by the Oriental Collection of the Australian National University Library, Canberra, and had formerly been in the possession of Professor Hsü Ti-shan of the University of Hong Kong. Other copies of it are known to exist in the following places: Berlin (National Library of Germany),[1] Budapest (Hungarian Academy of Sciences),[2] Kōyasan (Professor S. Sakai's Collection),[3] Kyōto (Professor G. Nagao's Collection),[4] Leningrad (Asiatic Museum),[5] New Delhi (Professor Lokesh Chandra's Collec-

*This paper was originally published in the *Tōhōgaku* (edited by the Institute of Eastern Culture, Tokyo), No. 36 (Sept. 1968) in Japanese. The present English translation was made by a kind recommendation of Professor Lokesh Chandra, to whom I should like to express my sincere gratitude, and was intended to make some revisions in the original.

[1] See M. Taube, *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke (=Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, XI) (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1966), p. 1087 [Nos. 2929, 2930].

[2] See L. Ligeti, *Rapport préliminaire d'un voyage d'exploration fait en Mongolie Chinoise 1928-1931*, (Budapest/Leipzig, 1933), p. 31: G. Kara, "Un texte mongole en écriture *soyombo*", *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, IX(1959), p. 1.

[3] See S. Sakai, 'Kazō Chibetto Zōgai Butten no Oboegaki (A note on my collection of Tibetan Buddhist texts)", *Nihon Chibetto Gakkaihō*, 3 (1956), p. 2.

[4] See G. Nagao, "Chibetto Inshō Moji (Tibetan seal-characters)", *Gakukai* (Kyōto), III, 5 (1946), pp. 39-48. Also Professor Nagao's letter dated November 8, 1968 to the author describes it.

[5] See O. Boehtlingk, "Ueber einige Sanskrit-Werke in der Bibliothek des Asiatischen Departements", *Bulletin de la Classe des Sciences historiques, philologiques et politiques de l'Académie Impériale de Sainte-Pétersbourg* [abbr. *Bulletin*], II, 22 (1845), Sp. 342 [No. 590]; A. Schiefner, "Nachträge zu den von O. Böhtlingk und I. J. Schmidt verfassten Verzeichnissen der auf Indien und Tibet bezüglichen Handschriften und Holzdrucke im Asiatischen Museum der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften", *Bulletin*, V, 10 (1848), Sp. 146-147 [No. 125aaa].

tion),[6] and Prague (Oriental Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences).[7] Three other copies are also supposed to exist in Peking (National Library of Peking) and Ulan Bator (Gandän Monastery and State Library of Ulan Bator).[8] The text has been introduced by O. Boehtlingk,[9] A. Schiefner,[10] W. Kotwicz,[11] L. Ligeti,[12] W. Heissig,[13] G. Kara,[14] and A. Yuyama.[15] This paper is intended to introduce three 'Phags-pa specimens contained in the *RDN* with some preliminary remarks on the 'Phags-pa script.

I.2. The *RDN* is supposed to have been compiled in the early 19th century and is one of polyglottal texts (i. e. Sanskrit, Tibetan, Mongolian and Chinese) which had been published since the 16th century in lamaist monasteries around Peking.[16] The compiler is now believed to be Lcaṅ-luṅ ārya paṇḍita Ṅag-dbaṅ-

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[6] According to Professor Lokesh Chandra's letter dated January 8, 1969 to the author.

[7] See J. Kolmaš, *Catalogue of the Tibetan Manuscripts and Blockprints in the Library of the Oriental Institute, Prague* (=*Dissertationes orientales*) (Prague: The Institute, 1969) [forthcoming].

[8] See Lokesh Chandra, *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature*, Part 2 (=*Śatapiṭaka Series*, vol. 29) (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1963), pp. 14-15. Existence of two copies held in the State Library of Ulan Bator and Gandän Monastery is confirmed by Professor Rintschen's letter dated April 3, 1969 to the author.

[9] Boehtlingk, *ibid.*

[10] Schiefner, *ibid.*

[11] W. Kotwicz, "Les Khitaïs et leur écriture", *Rocznik Orjentalistyczny*, II (1919), pp. 248-250+1 plate.

[12] Ligeti, *ibid.*

[13] W. Heissig, *Die Pekinger lamaistischen Blockdrucke in mongolischer Sprache* (=*Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen*, 2) (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1954), p. 160.

[14] Kara, *ibid.*

[15] A. Yuyama, *Indic Manuscripts and Chinese Blockprints (Non-Chinese Texts) of the Oriental Collection of the Australian National University Library, Canberra* (=*Occasional Paper*, 6) (Canberra: The Australian National University, 1967), pp. 84-100, 105-106, 124. This paper, especially I. 3, follows this catalogue (*ibid.*, pp. 87-94), but the responsibility for any imperfections are due to the author alone.

[16] See Heissig, *op. cit.*; Id., *Beiträge zur Übersetzungsgeschichte des mongolischen buddhistischen Kanons* (=*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse*, III, 50) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962). 59 pp. + 20 pls.; W. Simon, "Tibetan lexicography and etymological research", *Transactions of the Philological Society 1964* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 98-99.

blo-bzaṅ-btsan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan.[17]

The *RDN* consists of 29 folios (45.7 cm.×9.8 cm.) and of graphic tables of Indic and allied scripts with Tibetan transliteration (fols. 1b-16a) and illustrations showing meditation, architecture, astronomy, shoes, Yoga practice, surgery, and musical characters. Among these, what the present author intends to deal with are various scripts, except Indic, contained in fols. 13b-16a and thought to be considerably rare [see Plate]. Almost all of them have already been introduced by S. C. Das,[18] who is consequently considered to have dealt with the same or similar text of the *RDN*, but Das' description includes many mistakes which ought to be corrected.

I.3. A) 13b1/2-3/4: Sva-yam-bhu-jye-ti [*read* Svayaṃbhū-jyotis] / Raṅ-byuṅ snaṅ-ba.

Reads: (13b3/4) (initial symbol) *oṃ namo ratna-trayāya/a ā i ī e ē* [Tib. trslit. *ai*] *ü ǖ u ū o ō* [Tib. trslit. *au*] *ö ȫ a'o a'i/* [see the following table].

This is the so-called Soyombo script, which is, according to Rintschen, called in Mongolian Öber-iyen boluγsan gegen üsüg (=seibsterschienene Hellschrift) or Kebtege dörbelǰin (=waagrechte Quadratschrift) and was invented by Öndür-gegen in 1686 A. D.[19] Rintschen also gives an alphabetic table of the Soyombo script and Tibetan transliteration, which are slightly different from those in the *RDN* as the following table shows:[20]

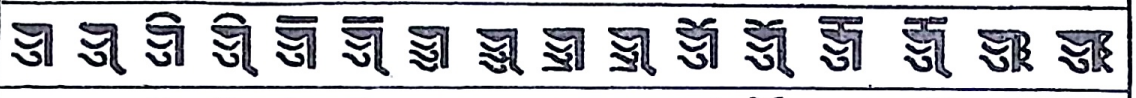
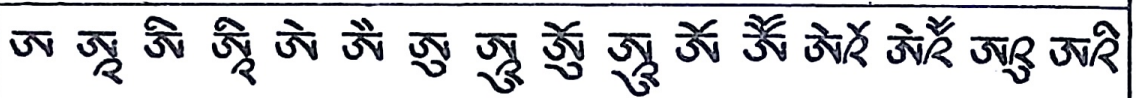
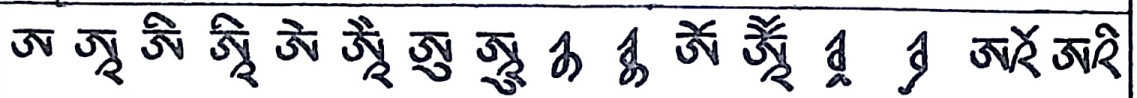
---

[17] Boehtlingk states: "Der Herausgeber soll Dschan-lung Ārja-Paṇḍita, ein mongolischer Lama, sein", and Heissig (*Die Pekinger...*, p. 160) and Taube (*op. cit.*, p. 1087) follow it. Lokesh Chandra gives a more detailed account of Ārya paṇḍita and his works (*op. cit.*, pp. 14-15), and Yuyama who had formerly had doubts about it (*op. cit.*, pp. 114, 124) writes to me that now he has come to believe that the author of the *RDN* is no doubt Ārya paṇḍita on the basis of many materials. Only Sakai attributes it to Rol-pa'i rdo-rje of Lcaṅ-skya (*op. cit.*, p. 2).

[18] S. C. Das, "The sacred and ornamental characters of Tibet", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, LVII (1888), pp. 41-48+9 pls.

[19] See Rintschen, "Zwei unbekannte mongolische Alphabete aus dem XVII. Jahrhundert", *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, II (1952), pp. 63-71.

[20] The Soyombo ē (No. 6) and ō (No. 12) are transliterated by the Tibetan *ai* and *au* respectively, because the Soyombo alphabet provides a letter ē, which is to be distinguished from *ai*, and which is equivalent to the Tibetan *ai* transcribing the Sanskrit *ai* [see M. J. Hashimoto, "Pasupabun boin tensha no ichi mondai (The *h*P'ags-pa transcription of a medieval Chinese vewel)", *Jimbun Kenkyū* (Osaka City University), XIX, 10 (1968), pp. 22-33]. Therefore a "small-'*a*" ('*a-chuṅ*) sign beneath the Tibetan ē and ō (Nos. 6 and 12) of the *RDN* is considered to have been adopted on the analogy of the other long vowels,

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Soyombo																
Rin-tschen																
	a	ā	i	ī	e	ē	ü	ǖ	u	ū	o	ō	ö	ȫ	au	ai
RDN																
	a	ā	i	ī	e	ē	u	ū	ü	ǖ	o	ō	ö	ȫ	a'o	a'i

for the last line read

a	ā	i	ī	e	ē	ü	ǖ	u	ū	o	ō	ö	ȫ	a'o	a'i

The *Itegel* (8 fols.), which is the only text at our disposal in this script, was introduced and studied by Rintschen and G. Kara.[21] Some Mongolian seals in Soyombo script have also been found.[22]

B) 13b3/4-14a1/2: Rin-spuṅs yig gsar.

Reads: (13b3/4) *ka kha ga ṅa/ ca cha* ... (14a1/2) ... *ha a/ /* followed by 8 affixed signs (*'dog-can*), i. e. *i e o u ya ra la va.*

This is an entirely ornamental new script (*yig gsar*), and was created by Rin

---

e. g. Nos. 2, 4 and 8. The Tibetan *u* and *ū* are normally used for the Mongolian *ü* and *ǖ* [see L. Ligeti, "Notes sur le colophon du <Yitikän Sudur>" *Asiatica. Festschrift Friedrich Weller* (Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1954), p. 400; Kara, *op. cit.*, p. 19; C. R. Bawden, *Mongolian in Tibetan Script* (=*Studia Orientalia*, XXV, 3) (Helsinki, 1960), 10-12] and, therefore, Rintschen's Tibetan spellings for Nos. 9 and 10 (Rintschen's Tibetan spelling for No. 10 misses a *na-ro* sign above the basic letter) are used for the Mongolian *u* and *ū*. This fact is also cited by the Uighur letters for Nos. 9 and 10 in the *RDN*, which are, according to N. Poppe, *Grammar of Written Mongolian* (= *Porta Linguarum Orientalium*, n. s. 1) (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1964), p. 28, used for the Sanskrit *u* and *ū*. The Uighur letter for No. 14 in the *RDN* cannot be identified, but according to Rintschen this letter is "la forme de cette lettre mongole employée solitaire dans les mots monosillabiques" (letter to the author). The Tibetan transcription *a'o* for No. 15 in the *RDN* is to be corrected to *au* as Rintschen gives, because the Mongolian diphthong *au* in *aurada,j qauli, taulai*, etc. is represented by No. 15.

[21] Rintschen, *ibid.*, pp. 70-71 (=photoreproduction of the *Itegel*); Kara, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-38. Many other Mongolian/Tibetan texts in the Soyombo script seem to be preserved at the State Library of Ulan Bator.

[22] See Rintchen (Rintschen), "A propos de la sigillographie mongole", *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, III (1953), pp. 25-31.

chen spuṅs-pa in the 14th century.[23]

C) 14a1-4: [No name is given.]

Reads: *mgon-po khyod-dgoṅs 'gro don skyoṅs-mdzod/ /*

Tib. colophon: (14a upper right 1) *dbyaṅs or-ṅes* [read *res*]*-pa śin-tu brjod-pa/* (14a2) *źes-pa'i yi-ge gñis-pa'i tshigs-su* (14a3) *bcad-pa/ rgya-ser-gyi yig gzugs daṅ* (14a4) *phyogs mthun-byas-pa'i yig gsar/*

Although no other material written in this script is found,[24] its hypothetical alphabet can be shown as follows:

k	c	(H) t	p	(U) ts	(H) ź	(H) r	h
kh	ch	(H)th	(U) ph	(U)tsh	(H) z	(H) l	a
g	j	H d	(U) b	dz	ʼ	(A) ś	
ṅ	ñ	H n	m	(J) w	(A) y	A s	

subjoined consonants: y, r, (l)l

supradded consonants: s, (Y)r, (l)l

vowels : o(eg. go, do), ? i ? u, ? e.

The letters *c, ch, j, ñ, h, a* and vowel signs *i, u, e* have no clue to reconstruct. The name of this script will be discussed later (II.2).

D) 14a3: [No name is given.]

Reads: *ka kha ga ṅa/ ca cha ja ña/ ña* [read *ta*] *tha da na/ pa pha ba ma/ tsa tsha dza kha* [r. *wa*]*/ źa za 'a ya/ ra la śa* [without Tib. transliteration.]

Although neither colophon nor Tibetan transliteration is given, this is obviously the 'Phags-pa script. Das regards this as Khoṅ-seṅ ("Lion's heart" characters), whose title is seen between lines 3 and 4.[25] The similar 'Phags-pa

[23] See Das, *op. cit.*, p 46, plate IV(a); J. Bacot, *Grammaire du tibétain littéraire*, I (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1946), pp. 83-84; D. Diringer, *The Alphabet. A Key to the History of Mankind* (London: Hutchinson Scientific and Technical Publications, 1947) p. 335.

[24] Boehtlingk gives a reproduction of the very specimen (*op. cit.*, Sp. 343-344), but no explanation is given.

[25] Das, *op. cit.*, p. 45, plate V(b).

specimen to this was shown by B. H. Hodgson with a colophon in cursive characters (*dbu-med*) as follows:[26] *'di-yaṅ hor-yig rigs gcig luṅ* (this is also one of the authoritative *Hor-yig*).

It is, however, not obvious from Hodgson's plate whether this colophon had originally been carved on the blockprint or was later simply added as a memorandum,[27] as Das, who is supposed to have consulted Hodgson's plate, paid no any attention to this important colophon [See II.1].

E) 14a4: Śa-chen.

Reads: (initial symbol) *a ā i ī u ū e ka kha ga gha ṅa/ṅka ṅghaḥ ka kha ga gha ṅa/ /*[28] [without Tib. transliteration].

It is quite adequate from the viewpoint of the shape of letters that Das translates Śa-chen as "corpulent characters".[29] Besides, the word *dzrīṃ* (or *jrīṃ*) at the end of this specimen seems to be a sort of Tantric incantation.

F) 14b upper left: [No name is given.]

Reads: *haṃkṣamalavarya* [left four columns] *kṣaṃmaryu kakhagaghaña cachajajhaña ṭaṭhaḍaḍhaṇa tathadadhana paphababhama yaralava śaṣasahakṣa līkṣamā/ /*

This is a monogram in Lañ-tsha characters,[30] and examples of it are shown by A. Waddell,[31] Hodgson,[32] and E. Teramoto.[33]

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[26] B. H. Hodgson, "Notices of the language, literature, and religion of the Bauddhas of Nepal and Bhot", *Asiatic Researches*, or *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, instituted in Bengal for enquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, and Sciences, and Literature of Asia*, XVI (1828) pp. 409-449, esp. see the third plate after p. 420.

[27] In Hodgson's plates all other scripts have the title written in Tibetan printing charcters (*dbu-can*) except the colophon for this specimen.

[28] Das transliterates this specimen as follows: *a ā i ī u ū e ai o au ri ṛī ḷi ḷī ka kha ga gha ṅa* [*op. cit.*, plate V(c)].

[29] Das, *ibid.*, p. 45.

[30] Das, *ibid.*, p. 47, plate V(d).

[31] L. A. Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mysteries* (London: J. Murray, 1905), p. 448. E. H. Walsh also gives a reproduction and decipherment of this seal ("Examples of Tibetan seals", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1915, p. 14, fig. 2), but his explanation on *'ja'-sa bka'-tham* ("seal of heaven") is to be corrected to "seal of edict" (see Jäschke, p. 175a).

[32] Hodgson, *op. cit.*, bottom of the fifth plate after p. 420.

[33] E. Teramoto, *Chibettogo Bunpō* (Tibetan Grammar) (Kyoto: Naigai Shuppan, 1923), the first plate.

G) 14b left bottom: [No name is given.]
Reads: *namo guruś vanāye* (?) *mañjuśriye* [Tib. transliteration °*śrīye*]//
This is also a decorative of Lañ-tsha.[34]

H) 14b upper right: [No name is given.]
Reads vertically (from left to right):
1st column: (initial symbol, *ñi-zla*[35])/ *ka kha ga ṅa*/ *ca cha ja*
2nd column: *ña*/ *ta tha da na*/ *pa pha*
3rd column: *ba ma*/ *tsa tsha dza wa*/ *źa*
4th column: *za 'a ya*/ *ra la śa sa ha*
5th column: *a*/ / *kya kra krakra* [read *kla*?]//
6th column: *ke khe ge ṅe*//

Das identifies this specimen Śin-tu brjod-pa and gives a Tibetan transliteration and English translation,[36] both of which had been based upon tradition. This is, in fact, 'Phags-pa script. The similar specimen to this is given in the blockprint brought by Teramoto,[37] and was deciphered by W. Simon.[38]

I) 14b right bottom: [Neither name nor Tib. transliteration is given.]
Reads: *kon mchongsum* [read *dkon-mchog-gsum*]-*la phyag-'tshal-lo*//
This is "a modification of the ordinary Tibetan characters written with rounded corners."[39]

J) 15a left: [Neither name nor Tib. transliteration is given.]
Reads : *bkra-śis 'bar-'gyur-gcig* [read *cig*]/ /
This is again 'Phags-pa script, although Das identifies it as Yugur (Uighur) script.[40] A. H. Francke followed Das' misidentification, but he deciphered it correctly.[41]

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[34] Das, *op. cit.*, p. 46, plate V (f).

[35] Francke calls this initial symbol *shad* (=*śad*) ("Note on the Dalai Lama's seal and the Tibeto-Mongolian characters", *JRAS*, 1910, p. 1205), but this is a squared form of Tibetan *ñi-zla* (see Teramoto, *op. cit.*, p. 16).

[36] Das, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46, plate V (e).

[37] Teramoto, *op. cit.*, bottom of the first plate.

[38] W. Simon, "A *h*Phags-pa seal of 1295", *Asia Major*, n. s. VI (1958), pp. 203-205, plate III (c).

[39] Das, *op. cit.*, p 46, plate V (g).

[40] Das, *ibid.*, p. 46, plate VII, No. 1.

[41] Francke, *op. cit.*, p. 1206. Francke's transliteration of this specimen is *bkrashispar 'agyucig*.

K) 15a right (1/6)-15b1/2: Dkrugs. [This is a cryptogram by transforming letters under certain rules.[42]]

(a) 15a1/2: Gñis-dkrugs.

Reads: (15a1) *śbra ma gaṅ ṅi nmag pyuṅ yñab nphar nmyagś/*

Reads: (15a2) *smra-ba ṅag-gi dbaṅ-phyug 'jam-dpal-dbyaṅs/*

(b) 15a1/2-3/4: Gsum-dkrugs.

Reads; (15a1) *tbyak-a* [read *tpyag-a*] *jath sśa* [r. *sra*] *tsho* [r. *pho*] *kdzuk sak źtot źcoźi* (15a3) *tbas/*

Reads: (15a2) *dbyaṅs-can lha-mo gtsug-lag 'dod-'jo'i* (15a4) *dpal/*

(c) 15a3/4: Bźi-dkrugs.

Reads: (15a3) *ñma'* [read *ñtha'*] *'ñat źakr* [r. *bakr*] *ña* [r. *tha*] *rñe nyi-li* [r. *ntshi-wi*] *nak pzoñ* [r. *pmon*] *lzit* [r. *wmit*]/

Reads: (15a4) *dpal-ldan tshaṅs-pa sde-bźi'i baṅ-mdzod-'dzin/*

(d) 15a3/4-5/6: Sum-cu-dkrugs.

Reads: (15a3) *djiy ṅdi ṅmad g'ab syaṅr tsyir* [read *pyir*] *ir kas* (15a5) *rcoh/*

Reads: (15a4) *'dzin-ma'i mṅa'-bdag-rnams-kyis śis-par* (15a6) *stsol/*

(e) 15a5/6-15b1/2: Bco-lṅa-dkrugs-sam phyed-dkrugs.

Reads: (15a5) *zi pmal lu/ /lak sa thśakb* [read *thśakp*] *śi tsap ñźe ki aye chidz/ /tshad ye lmañ ap tsap śi ad dzap tsyuth* (15b1) *śa/ /thlo da thi ko arip sa zi achiś lu/ / /ni tadz tshchaś lu athzel sath tsha da ñtshyuth//*

Reads: (15a6) *ji-skad-du/ /dam-pa-rnams-ni khas-'che mi bya-źiṅ/ /gal-te dka'-bas khas-ni blaṅs gyur* (15b2)*-na/ /rdo-la ri-mo bris-pa ji-bźin-du/ /śi-yaṅ gźan-du brjed-par ga-la 'gyur//*

L) 15b1/2-3/4: Aṅ-yig. [This is also a cryptogram by transforming letters with numerals.[43]]

Reads: (15b1/2) */dga'-ldan theg-chen bsod-nams kun-sdud gliṅ/ /bla-braṅs bkra* (15b 3/4)*-śis bsam-gtan pho-braṅ bcas/ /bstan daṅ 'gro-ba'i ñer 'tshor rtag brtan-ciṅ/ /chos srid legs tshogs dbyar mtsho ltar 'phel śog/*

M) 16a: [Neither name nor Tib. transliteration is given.]

This is a Khitan script, although the author is now unable to decipher each letter of it, which seems to represent a Tibetan alphabet. This folio of the *RDN* is also reproduced by Kotwicz.[44]

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[42] For further details, see Yuyama, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-92.

[43] For further details, see Yuyama, *ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

[44] Kotwicz, *op. cit.*, plate.

Tib. colophon: *gzan yaṅ mi-'gyur lhun-gyis-grup* [read *grub*]*-pa'i gtsug-lag-khaṅ-du rgya-nag-gi mkhan-po zan-than śan-śis mahā-tsī-na'i yi-ge bod-yig daṅ mthun-par bsgyur-ba/ /*

According to this colophon, this script was created by harmonizing (*mthun-pa*) "Great Chinese characters" (*mahā-tsī-na'i yi-ge*) and Tibetan characters by Zan-than śan-śi. The Khitan script was, however, as well known by the *Liao-shih* and other Chinese sources, created by T'u-lü-pu and Yeh-lü Lu-pu-ku in the fifth year of the Shen-ts'e reign (920) in the Liao dynasty, and the lesser Khitan script was invented by Prince T'ieh-la in 926.[45] A person called Zan-than śan-śi in this colophon is suspected to be a mistaken transcription for a famous Chinese monk San-tsang (also known as Hsüan-chuang), who had been well known among Tibetan legends on the Chinese.[46] On the other hand, Das states: "The Chinese professor Ssan [*read* Zan] than śan-śi, who visited Sam-yea [*read* Bsam-yas] at the invitation of king Thisroṅ Deu-tsan [*read* Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan] (755?-797), was so much struck with the capacity of the Tibetan characters to express Chinese words with their curious intonation and phonetic peculiarities, that he undertook both to transliterate and translate some of Chinese works into Tibetan and certain Tibetan works into the Chinese language. In an inscription found at Sam-yea it is mentioned that he (Zan-than śan-śi) compared the two languages and shewed

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[45] See paragraphs of the fifth year of the Shen-ts'e reign (920) and the third year of the T'ien-tsan reign (924) of "T'ai-tsu Pen-chi (Biography of the Emperor T'ai-tsu)" in the *Liao-shih* (Authentic History of the Liao Dynasty), and the paragraph of the first year of the T'ien-hsien reign (926) of the *Ch'i-tan Kuo-shih* (History of the Khitans). Also see T. de Lacouperie, *Beginnings of Writing in Central and Eastern Asia* (London, 1894, reprinted in Osnabrück: O. Zeller, 1965), pp. 69-70.

[46] In the Tibetan chronicle *Deb-ther sṅon-po/ The Blue Annals* (1476-8) this monk San-tsang appears as Zam-tshaṅ [see Ju. N. Rerix (G. N. de Roerich), *Izbrannye Trudy* (Moscow, 1967), p. 332 (selected from *The Blue Annals*, Part I (=*Monograph Series of the Royal Society of Bengal*, vol. VII) (Calcutta: The Society, 1949))]. *Zam* in *The Blue Annals* comes from the Middle Chinese *sam*, whose final *-m* changed to *-n* in ca. 16th century and *tshaṅ* comes from the Chinese *tsang*. On the other hand, *zan* in the colophon might have been derived from *zam* in the traditional Tibetan legends as seen in *The Blue Annals*, and *than* is probably a mistaken form for *tsang* whose final *-ng* frequently alternates with *-n* in Tibetan texts. The *śan-śi* is one of Tibetan versions of Chinese *ch'an-shih*, meaning a priest, although San-tsang's Buddhist title was *fa-shih*. These mistaken forms for Chinese names occur very often; e. g. *gan-din gu-śri* for Ch. *kuan-ting kuo-shih* [see G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, II (Roma, 1949), p. 626b], *hu-thun źan-je* for Ch. *Hui-t'ung ch'an-shih* [see L. Petech, "The Dalai-Lamas and Regents of Tibet: A Chronological Study", *T'oung Pao*, 53 (1967), p. 386].

their resemblances at the great monastery of Sam-yea."[47] The Chinese monk who visited Bsam-yas at the time of king Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan was Hva-śan Mahāyāna (Ch. Ta-ch'eng ho-shang).[48] Thus the colophon ascribing the inventor of Khitan script to Zan-than śan-śi cannot be validly cited.

II.1. Three 'Phags-pa specimens in the *RDN* are so easy to be deciphered that they pose no special problem. However, it should be pointed out that its misidentification or misunderstanding by Das and his followers (or Tibetan materials) has a rather complicated history.

The 'Phags-pa script had been called in Chinese documents the (New) Mongolian script, the Great Yüan National script, and so forth,[49] and in Mongolian *Dörbeljin üsüg* (square script/écriture carrée/Quadratschrift) until the European scholars began to use the name 'Phags-pa script customarily in the 19th century. The Uighur script, which had been used by the Mongolians until the invention of the 'Phags-pa script, was called to distinguish from the 'Phags-pa script Wei-wu-erh (or Wei-wu, Hui-ku, etc.) characters by the Chinese. After the fall of the Mongol Empire (1368), as the 'Phags-pa script was no longer used as the national script and consequently the Uighur script began to be officially used again by the Mongolians, the name of Mongolian script has had two significances: the 'Phags-pa and Uighur scripts. The Tibetans are also supposed to have called Mongolian script including the 'Phags-pa and Uighur, as Hor-yig.[50] This may be cited by a Tibetan colophon *'di-yaṅ hor-yig rigs gcig luṅ* given in Hodgson's plate.

As regards the invention of the 'Phags-pa script, there are great differences

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[47] Das, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

[48] See G. Schulemann, *Geschichte der Dalai-Lamas* (Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz. 1958), pp. 71, 75.

[49] E. g. *Meng-ku hsin-tzu* (the new Mongolian script) and *hsin-kuo-tzu* (the new national script) in the "Pa-ssu-pa chuan (Biography of Bla-ma 'Phags-pa)" in the *Yüan-shih* (Authentic History of the Yüan Dynasty), vol. 202, *Meng-ku tzu* (Mongolian script) in the *Po-chia-hsing* (Hundred Surnames, Yüan edition) and the *Shih-mo Chüan-hua* (Flowers of Stele and Brush Inscriptions), vol. 6, *ta-Yüan kuo-tzu* (Great Yüan national script) in the *Fo-tsu Li-tai T'ung-tsai* (Biographies of great monks through dynasties) (*Taishō Tripiṭaka*, No. 2036, XLIX), and *kuo-tzu* (national script) in the *Fa-shu-k'ao* (Study of Buddhist Books) and *Shu-shih Hui-yao* (A Brief History of Books) (both are the *Ssu-k'u Ch'üan-shu* edition).

[50] G. N. Roerich regards the 'Phags-pa script as Hor-yig ["Tibetan loan-words in Mongolian", *Sino-Indian Studies*, V, 3/4 (1957), p. 174], but Hor-yig includes both 'Phags-pa and Uighur scripts in Tibet.

between Chinese and Tibetan/Mongolian historical sources; the Tibetan chronicles *Hu-lan deb-ther/ The Red Annals* (1346) and *Deb-ther sṅon-po/ The Blue Annals* (1476-8) make no reference to it,[51] and the Mongolian chronicle *Jirüken-ü Tolta* (Tib. *Sñiṅ-tshil*) by Chos-kyi-'Od-zer ascribes the inventor of the Mongolian alphabet to Sa-skya paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzaṅ-po, an uncle of Bla-ma 'Phags-pa,[52] and the others such as the *Bolor Erike*,[53] *Hor-chos-byuṅ*.[54] etc. also follow it. The *Meng-ku Yüan-liu Chien-cheng*, the Chinese translation and annotation of the *Erdeni-yin Tobči* (1662), mistakenly quotes the paragraph on Bla-ma 'Phags-pa and his invention of the new script described in the *Ch'ih-hsiu Po-chang Ch'ing-kuei* (1360s.?) to the passage of Sa-skya paṇḍita as an annotation.[55] *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses*, the German translation of the *Erdeni-yin Tobči*, also erroneously quotes the description of the *Jirüken-ü Tolta* as an annotation to Sa-skya paṇḍita.[56] These misquotations have been followed by many scholars,[57] for instance, Das states that the Khoṅ-seṅ and Śin-

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[51] The only Tibetan source which refers to the invention of the script by Bla-ma 'Phags-pa is *Gaṅs-can yul-gyi sa-la sphyod-pa'i mtho-ris-kyi rgyal-blon gtso-bor-byas-pa'i deb-ther, Rdzogs-ldan gzhon-nu'i dga'-ston /The Fifth Dalai Lama's Chronicle* (1643). See G. Tucci, *op. cit.*, II, p. 626a.

[52] See Roerich, "Kun-mkhyen Čhos-kyi *hod*-zer and the origin of the Mongolian alphabet", *JASB*, XI, 1 (1945), pp. 52-58; H. Okada, "Mōko shiryō ni mieru shoki no Mō Zō kankei (The early Tibeto-Mongolian relation seen in Mongolian sources)", *Tōhōgaku*, 23 (1962), pp. 95-108.

[53] See *Bolor Erike, Mongolian Chronicle* (=*Scripta Mongolica*, III) (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), Part I, pp. 171-172; Part IV, pp. 121-122.

[54] See G. Huth, *Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei. Mit einer Einleitung: Politische Geschichte der Mongolen*, Teil II (Strassburg: K. Trübner, 1896), pp. 133-134, 162-163.

[55] See *Meng-ku Yüan-liu Chien-cheng* (tr. into Ch. by Chi Yün and others, annotated by Shen Tseng-chih and Chang Erh-t'ien) (1789 ed.), vol. 4, fol. 9b, *Ch'ih-hsiu Po-chang Ch'ing-kuei* (*Taishō Tripiṭaka*, No. 2025, XLIIX), p. 1117b.

[56] See I. J. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses* (St. Petersburg: N. Gretsch / Leipzig: C. Cnobloch, 1829), pp. 592-594.

[57] E. g. J. Klaproth, "De l'écriture ouïgoure", *Archives Paléographiques*, I (1872), p. 87; T. de Lacouperie, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-90; C. F. Koeppen, *Die lamaische Hierarchie und Kirche* (=*Die Religion des Buddha und ihre Entstehung*, Band II) (Berlin: H. Barsdorf, 1906, 2nd ed.), pp. 96-100; Das, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-47; Francke, *op. cit.*, p. 1208; Teramoto, "Pakupa Rama no shin Mōko moji (The new Mongolian script of Bla-ma 'Phags-pa)", *Bukkyō Shigaku*, I, 11 (1912), pp. 917-934, II, 2 (1912), pp. 108-127; F. E. A. Krause, *Ju-Tao-Fo. Die religiösen und philosophischen Systeme Ostasiens* (München: E. Reinhardt, 1924), p. 585.

tu brjod-pa scripts, both in fact are 'Phags-pa script, were probably introduced in Tibet and Mongolia during the Sa-skya hierarchy, and that the specimen on the fol. 14a (see I.3.H) of the *RDN* was invented by Sa-skya paṇḍita.[58] Teramoto's conclusion is that Sa-skya paṇḍita invented the Mongolian alphabet based upon the Uighur script and Bla-ma 'Phags-pa revised it.[59] T. de Lacouperie's is somewhat similar to Teramoto's.[60] These had been believed to be true until P. Pelliot finally reached a correct conclusion which we have also now obtained.[61]

II.2. A fault of the misunderstandings mentioned above was revealed in Das' explanation given to a specimen on fol. 15a (see I.3.J) of the *RDN* saying that "also a form of Gya [*read* Rgya]-ser-yig."[62] Let's examine the meaning of Rgya-ser-yig seen in the title of the *RDN*.

Boehtlingk translates this term as "Russische",[62] Ligeti gives a translation of "pseudo-russe".[63] Yuyama hypothetically gives a name "Russian Hybrid Characters" to a specimen on fol. 14a (see I.3.C).[64] In the *RDN*, however, the word Russia is called *or-res* as seen in the Tibetan colophon of the specimen. Also according to this colophon the script is composed of the Russian vowels (*dbyaṅs or-res-ba*) and the writing of Rgya-ser area (*rgya-ser-gyi yig*).

Rgya-ser undoubtedly means Russia as seen in H.A. Jäschke, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, p. 106b, but originally meant the Sartagol area.[65] Also B. Laufer states

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[58] Das, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.

[59] Teramoto, *ibid.*, pp. 108-120. Teramoto later revised this idea into that Sa-skya paṇḍita invented Mongolian script based upon Uighur script and his nephew, Bla-ma 'Phags-pa, invented a square Mongolian script based upon Tibetan *dbu-can*, then Chos-kyi 'Od-zer revised Mongolian script created by Sa-skya paṇḍita (see *Chibettogo Bunpō*, pp. 6-7). Also see Roerich, "Mun-mkhyen Čhos-kyi *h*od-zer...".

[60] de Lacouperie, *op. cit.*, pp 76-77, 88-89.

[61] See Pelliot's review to F. E. A. Krause, *op. cit.* in *T'oung Pao*, 23 (1924), pp. 54-62; Id., "Les systèmes d'écriture en usage chez les anciens mongols", *Asia Major*, II, 2 (1925), pp. 284-289. Also see M. Ishida, "Mōko moji no kigen to enkaku (An origin and history of the Mongolian script)", *Tōa*, III, 12 (1930), pp. 84-92. For further details on this problem, see Nakano, *A Phonological Study in the 'Phags-pa Script and the Meng-ku Tzū-yün* (=*Oriental Monograph Series*, No. 7) (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1969) [in press].

[62] Das, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.

[63] Boehtlingk, *op. cit.*, Sp. 342; Ligeti, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

[64] Yuyama, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

[65] See Schiefner, "Bericht über die neueste Büchersendung aus Peking", *Bulletin*, IX.2 (1851), Sp. 29-30.

that Russia was called Hor-sog or Hor-ro-sog (later 'O-ro-su) by the Eastern Tibetans.[66] Rgya-ser-yig is, therefore, considered to have simply meant scripts used in the Russian area as Hor-yig is interpreted as the script(s) used in Mongolian area, and not necessarily the Mongolian script. In this respect it can be an adequate interpretation that Yuyama gives a translation of the title of the *RDN* as "Graphic tables of Indic (and allied) scripts in Sino-Indian, Russian, Kashmirian, Nepalese, Tibetan and Mongolian areas...."[67]

Identification of Rgya-ser-yig in the *RDN* has to be done in accordance with the geographic conception of the Tibetans about the Russian area; for instance it may include some scripts such as Soyombo, Khitan and "Russian Hybrid" writings which were used in a wide area due north of Tibet. Besides, Schiefner translates Rgya-ser as "Tangutische",[68] which is considered to be a mistake for Khitan as no Tangut (Hsi-hsia) script is contained in the *RDN* and, moreover, identification of Khitan, Jurchen and Tangut scripts had not yet been settled by the second half of the 19th century.[69]

III.1. The 'Phags-pa script, which was no longer officially used after the fall of the Mongol Empire, has been mainly used as a seal-script in lamaist monasteries in Tibet; square-shaped letters being suitable for seals made its survival possible. With regard to seals as 'Phags-pa materials, almost all of them at our disposal are in either Chinese or Tibetan, with only a few exceptions in Mongolian.[70]

As the 'Phags-pa script was invented after the Tibetan printing characters (*dbu-can*), if the Tibetans made "Tibetan seal-characters" from *dbu-can* without any knowledge of the 'Phags-pa script, they would naturally resemble 'Phags-pa script. The reason why Tibetologists such as Das, Francke, and Walsh had been able to deal with the "Tibetan seal-characters" was, in fact, caused by resemblance between them.[71] Are the "Tibetan seal-characters" simply deve-

[66] B. Laufer, "Loan-words in Tibetan", *T'oung Pao*, XVII (1916), pp. 498-499.

[67] Yuyama, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[68] Schiefner, "Nachträge...", Sp. 146.

[69] For instance, A. Wylie identified the Tangut inscription on the Wall of Chü-yung-kuan as the Jurchen script ("On an ancient Buddhist inscription at Keu-yung kwan, in North China", *JRAS*, V.1 (1871), pp. 14-44+restoration).

[70] Examples of Mongolian seals in the 'Phags-pa script are; seal of *Nomči mergen mkhan-po* (see G. L. M. Clauson, "A Mongolo-Tibetan seal", *JRAS*, 1929, pp. 117-119) and seal of Galdan Boshogtu [see J. R. Krueger's report, which will appear in *Central Asiatic Journal*, XII, 3 (1969)]. For further details on 'Phags-pa seals, see Nakano, *op. cit.*

[71] See Nakano, *ibid.*, "Introduction".

loped form of 'Phags-pa script or variation of *dbu-can*? G.L.M. Clauson states about this: "It is much more probable that well before this date [invention of 'Phags-pa script] they [the Tibetans] felt the need of seals and, when they did so, followed the Chinese precedent of developing a special form of the alphabet suitable for enclosure in a rectangular frame, and they may well also have followed the Chinese tradition of arranging their seal inscriptions vertically instead of horizontally. It seems very likely that the model which *h*PL [Bla-ma 'Phags-pa] followed when he invented his alphabet was a seal character of this kind."[72] It may be, however, more difficult to accept Clauson's hypothesis until evidence, e. g. Tibetan seals in Tibetan seal-characters of the date before 1269, are found.[73]

III.2. 'Phags-pa seal-script was created probably by the Chinese immed-iately after the invention and promulgation of the 'Phags-pa script (12.9). This fact has been cited by some sources, such as the "Table of 'Phags-pa Seal-script" in the *Meng-ku Tzu-yün* (1308), which was compiled to provide new material on the phonemic system of Middle Chinese,[74] a seal of 1295,[75] the inscription of *The Edict of Dharmapāla's Widow, 1321.*[76]

The 'Phags-pa seal-script of the early days had so much variation in each letter shape, and much more in later Tibetan seals. The following seven alphabets are distinctive examples showing such variations:

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[72] Clauson, "The *h*P'ags-pa alphabet", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* XXII (1959), pp. 304-305.

[73] As a 'Phags-pa material dated before 1269, Ts'ai Mei-piao gives an evidence that the inscription of *Edict of the Wan-shou Palace, Ch'ung-yang* is dated in the year of dragon (1268) [*Yüan-tai Pai-hua-pei Chi-lu* (Collection of colloquial inscriptions of the Yüan period) (Peking: K'o-hsüeh Ch'u-pan-she, 1955), pp. 23-24], but it is very probable that this edict dated 1268 was actually carved after 1269, as seen in many cases in Chinese tradition of carving inscriptions.

[74] See *Eiin Daiei Hakubutsukan zō kyūshōhon Mōkojiin* (Facsimile Edition of the MS of the *Meng-ku Tzu-yün* held in the British Museum) (Osaka: Kansai University, 1956), pp. 11-12.

[75] See Simon, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-204, plates I, II.

[76] See Poppe, *The Mongolian Monuments in ḥP'ags-pa Script* (=*Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen*, 8) (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1957), pp. 54-55, plate IV; Simon, *ibid.*, p. 205, plate III(b). For further details on Chinese seals in 'Phags-pa script, see E. Haarh, "L'écriture 'phags-pa vraiment carrée des sceaux chinois des Yüan", *Acta Orientalia*, XXIV, 1/2 (1959), pp. 59-61; Nakano, *ibid.*, "Appendix. 'Phags-pa Materials".

	Tib	Skt.	'Phags-pa	'Phags-pa seal	Tibetan seal-characters
c		–			
t					
ph					
ts				–	
tsh					
dz					
w				–	

These seven 'Phags-pa alphabets were, according to N. Poppe, invented to transcribe foreign sounds, mainly Chinese, which did not exist in Mongolian.[77] In other words, they have probably been exceptions of which the Tibetans have been ignorant, because the Tibetans would never read Chinese documents in 'Phags-pa script but solely read Mongolian in it. It is, therefore, more probable that the Tibetans who learnt 'Phags-pa script through Mongolian monuments invented "Tibetan seal-characters" to transcribe the seven sounds in Tibetan based directly upon *dbu-can* on the analogy of the other 'Phags-pa letters, and they referred to 'Phags-pa alphabet in transcribing Tibetan sounds other than the above mentioned seven.

Above all, *ts*, *tsh* and *dz* in Tibetan *dbu-can* and 'Phags-pa script are much different in shape from each other, and much more between 'Phags-pa seal- and Tibetan seal-characters. These three letters of the 'Phags-pa script are now considered to have been created after the Sanskrit Devanāgarī, so that the Tibetans were unable to base upon the three 'Phags-pa letters in making their seal-characters and they had to take over the three from their own *dbu-can*. Two 'Phags-pa specimens on fols. 14b (I.3.D) and 15a (I.3.J) of the *RDN* contain a few examples of such variation of 'Phags-pa seal-script or Tibetan seal-characters, and they can be a clue to confirm the origin of each letter in the 'Phags-pa script. Besides, some other letters especially the vowel sign ē of the 'Phags-pa script is also regarded as a derivative from the Devanāgarī *ai* or the Khotanese *ai*, and not from the Tibetan *e*.[78]

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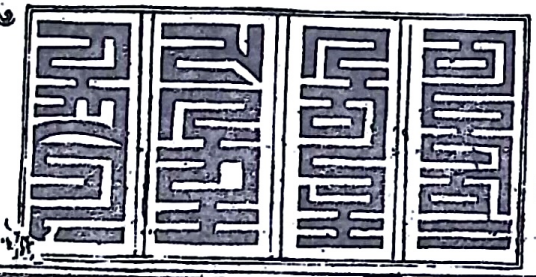
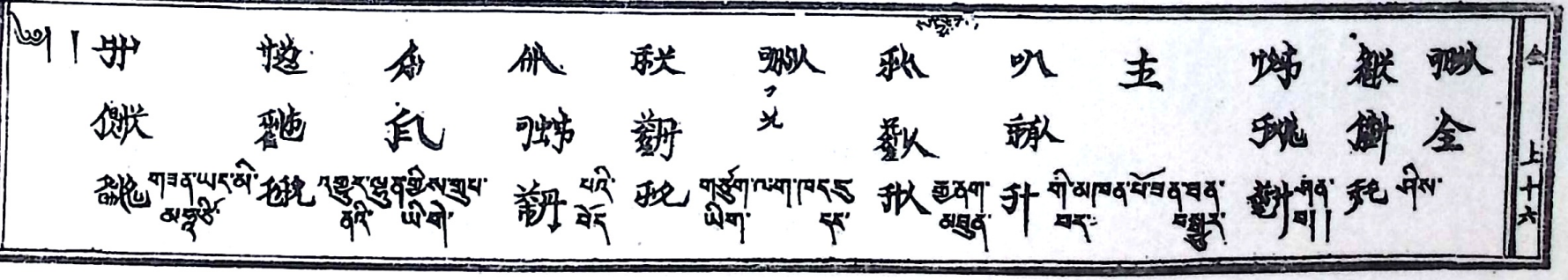
[77] Poppe, *ibid.*, pp. 19-24.

[78] See Hashimoto, *op. cit.*

The *RDN* provides some important problems on palaeography and the author hopes that another similar text will be found in the future and that will provide more materials for further discussion.





HIS HIGHNESS PRINCE DHANINIVAT, BANGKOK

THE LEGEND OF RĀMA IN THAILAND

The legend of the Indian hero Rāma, is widely known all over eastern Asia specially in the south-east corner over the seas to Indonesia. Research has shown us that the legend is older than the universally accepted version of the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki. It was referred to by commentators of the Buddhist Tipiṭaka[1]. Scholars of Indian classical literature seemed to believe in the priority of legend over the Rāmāyaṇa.[2] Although written evidences of it are late, murals and architectural decorations exist in plenty in lands culturally influenced by Indian culture, like Siam, Cambodia and Indonesia.

In our country (i. e. Thailand) though no doubt there must have been written literature on the subject long before, perhaps up to the 13th century, such as disconnection texts for the Shadow-play, it was not till 1798 that King Rāma I began to write out his epic of the Ramakien, which remains the earliest known version of the Rāma legend in Thai literature. It was a long narrative of metrical klon with musical direction for performance but not divided into acts etc. as in the modern Greek-type drama. It is possible that the king merely meant to preserve the story as a whole, rather than presenting it in theatrical formation. In any case as it was written on the old-style blackened folio of 24 pages to a volume, and a page contained only four lines of approximately 20 words each, a volume would thus contain $(20\times4)\times24=1920$ words and the whole work of 102 folio volumes $1920\times102=195{,}840$ words. It is thus quite different from the Indian Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki which was subdivided into cantos or *kāṇḍa*.

As I have written elsewhere, the narrative of the legend of Rāma forming the version of the Ramakien of King Rāma I, otherwise known as Pra Putthayodfa, no doubt had an old origin, but has been handed down from oral versions through dramatic ones in the Śrīvijaya kingdom whence it

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[1] Brahmajāla Sutta, Silakkhandavagga, Dīghanikāya, referred to a recitation called the '*akkhāna* such as the story of Rāma' as being unworthy of the cultural dignity of Sākya son, meaning of course the Buddhist recluse, and the Jātakaṭṭhakathā.

[2] cf. H. Jacobi, *Das Rāmāyaṇa*, Bonn 1891 and H.B. Sarkar, *Indian Influences on the Literature of Java and Bali*, Calcutta 1934.

migrated into Siam collecting during its long journey various interpolations which have been partially traced to their respective former habitat. The task of solving its age and migration has been hard and is as yet unsolved to the satisfaction of scholars. It is necessary to give first an outline of the story as we have it in our earliest version of 1798.

The drama as it exists may be treated as consisting of three parts. Firstly an introductory one dealing with origins of the three main races in the legend, namely the human inhabiting the middle country, i. e. India, the demoniac inhabiting for the greater part the south with its centre in Lonka (Ceylon) and the simian inhabiting the wilds of the Deccan. This introductory section seems to have been taken out mostly of the Indian Purāṇa. Thus we have to begin with the story of Varāha Purāṇa in which Viṣṇu assumes the incarnation of the Boar to recover the earth which had been taken away by the demon Hiran. The narrative leads up to Śiva's invitation to Viṣṇu to assume the human form of Rāma to rid the world of malicious demons in which the divinities of the Hindu heavens volunteer their service by assuming incarnations of Simian soldiery.

The second part, according to our arbitary partition, is almost identical with the classical version of the Rāmāyaṇa though it is heavily interpolated with a medley of traditions of neighbouring lands through which no doubt it passed through. We commence with the births of the hero Ṛāma and his brothers and with the birth in Lonka of Sida, the heroine. The latter is thrown into the waters but recovered and brought up by the benevolent King Janok of Mithilā. She is given to Rāma in marriage after a tournament of lifting the sacred bow. The King of Ayodhyā, Rāma's father plans a consecration to appoint Rāma his successor on the throne but is reminded by a young wife of his former promise to grant a boon whenever she may ask for it. Now she asks for Rāma's banishment for 13 years during which her own son, Prot is to reign in his stead. The old King dies of disappointment and Prot who had been sent to live with his maternal grandfather, the King of Kaiyakes, comes back for the coronation festivities for his brother in Ayodhyā only to find the tragic death of the father and the banishment of his beloved brother Rāma. He sets out for the forest whither Rāma has gone in banishment with his wife and brother Lak and begs Rāma to return to rule the country now that the father is dead. He only succeeds in bringing back a pair of Rāma's grass sandals to be placed on the throne as the emblem of Rāma's rule over Ayodhyā, since the latter insists on keeping the vow of the father to be banished for 13 years. Rāma now penetrates deeper into the thick forests

and meets with a series of adventures in which he loses Sida through a ruse of Tosakanth the King of Lonka. He however secures the help of the monkey Hanumān who brings him in touch with Sukrip King of the Simian Kingdom of Khidkhin. The latter helps Rāma with an army to recover Sida. After an extensive search Hanumān discovers that Sida has been taken to Lonka and kept in captivity. Rāma now leads his Simian army to the shores of the ocean and building a bridge across it lays siege to the Demon's citadel. A series of battles ensue in which most of the demon leaders and relatives of Tosakanth, otherwise known as Rāvaṇa, are killed. The battles of Lonka form the greater part of the Thai version and is very long. In comparison with the later Rāmāyaṇa which abounds in lengthy speeches even on the battlefield, the Thai version owes its length to the description of the scene of battle, of the hosts of soldiery taking part in fighting and other incidentals. It is characteristic of the nature of the nationality of the authors. After a long series of battles the villain King Tosakanth is killed and everything seems to end happily—though not very easily for there is yet a third section describing a long war with King Chakravat of Malivan and other forest races of gandharvas.

The conclusion of the epic does not say that Rāma dies. This is characteristic of the Thai drama, though the Rāmāyaṇa relates of the return of Rāma and his brothers and generals into godhead. The difference is not difficult to understand for the Ramakien is but a romance whilst the Rāmāyaṇa is a bible for innumerable Hindus.

To arrive at some tangible conclusion regarding the venue of the Rāma legend, one might examine the interpolations and variations in the narrative. These are, however, numerous. At this stage it may be as well to examine some of the more distinctive.

An important interpolation, not yet traced to any foreign source, is the one called Nan loy 'the lady afloat', a very popular stage episode. Tosakanth here adopts the ruse of sending his niece afloat in the waters past that camp of Rāma in the disguise of Sida, in the hope of course of Rāma believing that his wife is dead and therefore raising siege of Lonka to return home. The episode is widely popular on account of its beautiful diction and the accompanying music. King Rāma II improved on this with a revised version and probably new music.

Another popular episode, which is a variation rather than an interpolation, is the bridging of the ocean. The Ramakien (1798 version) has it that Hanumān and Nilapat are sent to carry out the work but quarrel and the latter

is sent back to headquarters. The Rāmāyaṇa with which the Indonesian versions agree give different monkey generals, Nala and Nīla, who however do not quarrel.

Another episode, also an interpolation, is that of Maiyarab the Magician. The demon is a nephew of Tosakanth, King of Lonka sent to rule the nether-world. He corresponds to the Tamil Rāvaṇa of the Peacock-tail, Mayilira-vanan. On the stage he wears a mask of grim dark brown visage and very cruel of disposition surmounted with a gilt peacock-tail crown, armed with a blow-pipe with which he puts his enemies asleep with a drug of his own make. Summoned by the King of Lonka he comes up to the camp and, putting the whole camp under his narcotic carries away Rāma with the intention of boiling him alive on the next day. Hanumān is sent down into the bowels of the earth; and, after innumerable obstacles recovers Rāma and puts the cruel demon to death. This evidences Tamil influence in the migration of the legend.

In the ensuing battles with Kumbhakarn, and Indrajit, brother and son of the King of Lonka, as with other demon leaders, the Ramakien is particularly detailed though without the verbosity of the Rāmāyaṇa, making it up with minute details of the martial preparations as may be expected from the soldier author of the epic. A detail is worthy of notice. In the battle with Indrajit the latter shot the snake-noose which binds Lak fast. The sculptures of north-east Siam, Khmer inspired, such as the lintels of Ankor and Pimai, represent both Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa bound up by the same noose. It is an important variation which may guide as in determining the venue of the tale.

Elsewhere I have called the notice of those interested in the problem of the legend's migration to the close similarity of our legend to that of the Malay Hikayat Seri Ram. A close examination may be worth the trouble. In a short summary like the present wherein space is limited there is no room for detailed comparison.

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THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTH EAST ASIAN ARTS

By the word 'South East Asia', we would like to limit ourselves only to those countries that had received strong Indian cultural influence in the past, namely: Champa in the present day Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia and Indonesia.

South East Asia lies between India and China and her civilisation received the impetus from these two large countries. The mainland of South East Asia or the peninsula of Indochina extends from China down to the south. Though there are mountain chains which are difficult to cross, the large rivers on the peninsula have always been used as the means of communication: the Red River, the Mekong, the Menam Chao Phya River, the Salween and the Irrawaddy. Indonesia was probably connected in former times with Indochina.

Prehistoric study has been more or less reasonably advanced in South East Asia. Palaeolithic or early Mesolithic tools and paintings have been found in Anyathia (Burma), Kota Tampan (North Perak), Hoa-binh (Tonkin), Khwae Noi (mistakenly called Fing Noi in Thailand) and Laso at Celebes (Indonesia). The people who produced these artifacts are supposed to be Proto-Melanesians who are now living on scattered islands in the Pacific Ocean as well as the aborigines in Australia. Then comes the Hoabinian culture, a Proto-Neolithic form, which was found on the Hoabinh sites in Vietnam, in Laos and in Malaya. It is considered to have co-existed with the appearance of a crude basket pottery. Again in the most recent levels of the Hoabinian figures an independent Proto-Neolithic called Bacsonian in Tonkin. Here the pottery improves and there appear burials by inhumation with an elaborate ritual. This last stage may be dated to the beginning of the 3rd millennium B. C.

Later on, the Neolithic culture (about 2500 B.C.) spread all over South East Asia but it seems to co-exist also with a knowledge of metal which probably derived from China. Here one should mention the new theory on the origin of the use of metal and the practice of agriculture in South East Asia. According to the recent excavations of Professor William G. Sollheïm 2nd at

Khonkaen in north-eastern Thailand between 1965-1966 and of Dr. Chester S. Gorman at Mae Hong Son in north-western Thailand in 1966, metal usage and plant domestication might have first begun in Thailand about 4275±200 B.P. (before the present time) and 7000 B.C. respectively (the result obtained through the Carbon 14 test method). They then spread throughout South East Asia. This hypothesis is however waiting for more supports from further excavations.

In general two main Neolithic implement types are distinguished in South East Asia: one in inland Indochina and the other along the coasts. The latter type also prevails in Indonesia. It has generally been believed that this culture was brought down from China by the Indonesians. Apart from the two main Neolithic implement types above-mentioned, there also figure shouldered axes. These Neolithic stone tools are characteristic of the inland area or the island. They have been believed to belong to the Mon-khmer race who followed the Indonesians down into Indochina. As time goes on, however, the presence of bronze is increasingly attested to on all these Neolithic sites. The three sites which best illustrate the end of this development are Sa-huynh in Annam, Samrong Sen in Cambodia, and Gua Cha in Malaysia. Both the Neolithic and Bronze cultures co-existed side by side for a long period.

The use of metal, both bronze and iron, became dominant in South East Asia in the five or six centuries before the Christian era. And here again we can define two large independent systems. Down the valley of the Mekong, scattered in pockets in Burma, in western Malaysia, and as far afield as Sumatra we can recognise a megalithic civilisation, especially huge jars which are mostly found in central Laos. Almost simultaneously we find along the coastline of Indochina and as far away as Malaysia and Indonesia, a splendid bronze-using civilisation which is called the Dongsonian after Dong-son, the richest excavation site in the Thanh-hoa area in Tonkin. The people who produced this latter culture were farmers, fishermen, seafarers and excellent craftsmen in bronze, as is shown by the wealth of material discovered, especially the famous bronze drums. These drums have also been found in Cambodia, Thailand, on the Sunda Islands and Bali. The Dongsonian culture might have flourished in Tonkin about three centuries before the beginning of the Christian era.

This probably was the condition in South East Asia when the first Indian settlers arrived. From the evidence of archaeology so far discovered, the influence of Indian culture probably came into South East Asia about the beginning of the Christian era but it has also been surmised that the people of South East Asia might have already got in touch with the Pre-Aryan Indians

as there were many common features among them: the culture of irrigated rice, the domestication of ox and buffalo, the rudimentary knowledge of metal, the navigation ability, the importance of women and the descendance on maternal line, animism, the cult of ancestors and the god of the soil, the installation of cult altar on the mountains, the burial of the dead in jars or dolmens, the opposition between the mountain and the sea, bird and fish, those who live on the plateau and those who live along the coast, the language of isolated words but with the use of prefix, suffix and infix. Anyhow when the Indian merchants arrived about the beginning of the Christian era they probably encountered the following inhabitants in South East Asia: in the present day Vietnam the Cham of the Indonesian linguistic group; in the present day Cambodia the Khmers; in the valley of the Menam Chao Phya and southern Burma, the Mons who spoke the same language group with the Khmers; in Burma the Pyus; and in Indonesia the Indonesians.

The Indians came as merchants to seek gold and spice. The monsoon wind compelled them to set up trade posts in South East Asia and at least to stay there one season before they could collect exotic goods. This led to the spread of Indian culture through trade connection and intermarriage. The Indians probably came from both the north and south of their country but the impact of the southern cultural influence seems to be strongest in South East Asia especially from Amravati in south-eastern India.

Soon independent kingdoms were established in South East Asia: the kingdom of Funan on mainland Indochina and other smaller kingdoms on the Malay peninsula about the beginning of the Christian era; the country of Champa at the end of the second century A. D., and countries in Indonesia from about the 4th century. The establishment of these kingdoms can be divided into two methods: founded by the Indians who either married the daughter of a local chief or carved out the kingdoms for themselves; or by a local chief who adapted himself into the Indian orbit through the help of an Indian brahmin.

From about the 5th to the 7th century A. D., through the spread of the Indian Gupta and Post-Gupta cultural influences, the historic arts of South East Asia became firmly established. Their general trend seems to be the same in every country. At first they more or less copied the art of their cultural masters but then the native influences slowly crept in until these arts became independent from their prototypes and varied according to each country, each having its own characteristics. They resemble a tree with the same roots and trunk but which spreads out into many branches.

Now through the research of foreign and native scholars, one can have a rather clear picture of these arts though one must say that further research, especially archaeological excavations, should be carried on in every country in South East Asia.

One can say now for instance that the Cham art can be divided into 6 successive styles: those of the ancient period (about 8th century A. D.), of Hoa-lai (9th century), of Dong-duong (9th-10th century), of Mi-son A-1 (10th-11th century), of Binh-dinh (13th-14th century) and of the late period (14th-18th century).

The Khmer art can be even more precisely dated because of the many stone inscriptions and can be classified into 16 different styles namely the Pre-Angkorian period which includes the Phnom Da style (only for sculpture, ca. 540-600 A.D.), sambor Prei Kuk (ca. 600-650), Prei Kmeng (ca. 635-700), Kompong Prah (ca. 706-800). Then comes the transitional period of Kulen (ca. 825-875) and the Angkorian period which is formed by Prah Ko style (ca. 875-893), Bakheng (ca. 893-925), Koh Ker (ca. 921-945), Prè Rup (transitional, ca. 947-965), Banteay Srei (ca. 967-1000), Khleang (ca. 965-1010), Baphuon (ca. 1010-1080), Angkor Vat (ca. 1100-1175) and Bayon (ca. 1177-1230). Then follow the late Khmer art (Post-Bayon style) and the present-day Cambodian artistic expression.

In Thailand one can divide her arts into two main periods: before the Thai political domination of the country and after that epoch. The first one is again sub-divided into at least three styles: those of Dvāravatī (7th-11th century A.D.), Śrīvijaya (8th-13th century) and Lopburi (11th-13th century). The second period which is of Thai workmanship is sub-divided into the arts of Chiengsaen (11th-18th century), Sukhothai (13th-14th century), U-tong (12th-15th century), Ayudhya (14th-18th century) and Bangkok (from the late 18th century).

The art of Burma can be divided into 3 large periods: that of the Pyus (6th-8th century), the Pagan period (9th-13th century) and the late period (from the 14th century onwards).

Indonesian art can also be divided into Central Javanese period (7th or 8th to 10th century A.D.), Eastern Javanese period (10th-16th century) and the Muslim period (from the 15th century onwards). One can also include the separate art of Bali.

These South East Asian arts not only gain their common impetus from the Indian culture but also have certain interchanges among themselves. Here only some examples would be cited, for instance: the influence of the

Cham Dong-duong art during that of the Khmer Kulen; the Khmer Angkor Vat style on that of Binh-dinh of late Champa; the strong Khmer influence on the Lopburi art in Thailand and the return of the Thai Ayudhya and Bangkok styles on the present Cambodian art; the influence of the Indian Pāla art through Pagan in Burma to the northern Thai art school or that of Chiengsaen; the influence of the Thai late Chiengsaen art on that of Laos; the Dvāravatī influence from Thailand on some Khmer and Indonesian Buddha images; the Central Javanese art influence on the Cham art of Mi-son A-1, the Khmer styles of Kulen, Prah Ko and Banteay Srei as well as on Malaysia, on the middle Dvāravatī period, the Śrīvijaya art in Thailand and the Burmese Pagan period.

The knowledge on the development and interchanges of these arts in South East Asia can be further improved through the proper archaeological excavation in each country and the study of the evolution of motifs recommended by Professor Philippe Stern, the former Chief Curator of the Musee Guimet in Paris, and his school in dating various aspects of the Khmer and Cham arts. One can cite for example here the evolution of a motif which is composed of round and rectangular beads, first conceived in India in the Gupta and Post-Gupta styles and then transported to Cambodia, began to evolve into the Khmer Kampong Prah style (Mireille Bénisti, "La bande à chatons", in Arts Asiatiques, Tome XX, 1969). This already evolved motif was also discovered recently by the author at Caṇḍi Plaosan in central Java.

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HINDU ART OUTSIDE INDIA

It is one of the miracles and paradoxes of Indian culture that its achievements in Greater India—in Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Champa, Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java and Bali—far surpass the achievements in the Indian Peninsula.

Recent researches have brought to light enormous quantities of evidence and data which prove that throughout the centuries, Indian culture has flowed from the Indian Continent to the distant tracts of Further India and Malaya, Sumatra, Borneo, Java and Bali.

It is a fascinating history, this penetration of Indian culture into the extreme corners of South East Asia formerly inhabited by various branches of Malayo-Polynesian races boasting of an early primitive culture which was later Hinduised by energetic missionaries.

Asia Minor. Before we deal with relics in South East Asia, it will be proper to study the record of the earliest penetration of Vedic culture outside India. From a remote corner of Asia Minor has come a startling data recorded in an inscription at Boghaz-koi, which embodies a contract concluded between the king of the Hittites and the king of Mitanni which invokes the following Vedic gods: Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and the two Nāsatyas. The date of the inscription has been ascribed to 1400 B. C. In that case, we must assume that the Ṛigveda and its culture must have established themselves in India much earlier than 1400 B. C. to have been able to influence the culture of Asia Minor at that time.

Borneo. At the opposite pole in Borneo (Barhiṇa-dvīpa) we find another evidence of the penetration of Vedic culture in South Eastern Asia. It is a Sanskrit inscription of a Prince of Borneo, named Mūlavarman who had imported a group of Vedic brahmins who officiated at the performance of Vedic *yajña* called *bahu-suvarṇaka*. A yūpa or a sacrificial post was erected to commemorate the sacrifice. It is, however, a late record of the estimated date of 600 A. D.

We will now proceed to examine the remains of Hindu culture in Further India and Malaya. Following in the foot-steps of earlier Indian missionaries, we begin a journey from West to East from the banks of Bay of Bengal, covering the various tracts mentioned above until we come to Champā on the shores of the Pacific.

Burma. Our first culture-area is Burma inhabited by the Talaings belonging to the Mon-khmer family. The whole tract was known, formerly, as *Ramañña-deśa*. Old Prome was formerly known as Śrīkṣetra, an echo of the city of Puri (Orissa). We have not been able to trace the earliest visit of an Indian missionary and the details of his activities, but several early mediaeval Hindu images such as a Sūrya and a bronze Tārā have come from the Akyab district. The predominating relics are all Buddhist. The only surviving Hindu building is a Vaiṣṇava shrine Nat Hlaung Gyaung (Pagan) traditionally dated 931 A.D. The Pagan temple just mentioned contains sculptures of the Daśāvatāra. Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray has made a useful study of Hindu gods in Burma.

Malay Peninsula. The city of Kaṭāha (Kedah) was an ancient sea-port and the centre of importation of Hindu culture. Unfortunately, temples and other data for Hindu worship have not survived but the most significant evidence of Hindu culture is a bronze image of Ṛṣi Agastya discovered in a Tin Mine at Perak. In the Vāyu Purāṇa there is an interesting record that the Mahā-Malaya hill is full of all varieties of fruits and flowers and inhabited by divine sages, there stands the house of Agastya who is adored by gods as well as by demons.

Thailand. The contiguous culture next to Burma is Siam now known as Thailand. Though now a predominantly Buddhist site, some of the old place-names are evident proofs of earlier Hindu culture. Thus, we have on the banks of country's several rivers, the following names: Ayuthia (Ayodhyā), Lopburi (Lava-purī), Pitsanulok (Viṣṇu-loka), Sukhotai (Sukhodaya), Sawankalok (Sajjanālaya). These names are patent evidences that in early times Thailand had received Hindu culture from India. A site named Dvārāvatī appears to have been derived from Dvārakā-nagarī. That Hindu cults persisted in the later centuries, is evident from two dated metal images of Śiva and Viṣṇu bearing dates 1354 and 1361, set up under royal patronage at Kampen Phet.

Cambodia (*Kambuja-deśa*). Travelling from Thailand towards the East we come across the world famous tract of Kambuja-deśa which was the venue of a brilliantly developed Hindu culture which lasted for nearly two thousand years, nursing and developing this culture to the highest plane of achievement. The development of this culture is recorded in a series of Sanskrit inscriptions ranging in date from 500 A.D. to 1230 A.D. The era actually began in the first century A.D. so that we have a record of twelve hundred years in continuous succession.

It appears that the earliest missionary to this far-off land was Ṛṣi Kauṇḍinya (referred to as *Quanden* in Chinese annals) who arrived in a merchant vessel in the early part of the first century and was received by a local Princess named Somā, who belonged to a semi-savage tribe and was called a Nāginī. She had no kind of clothing on her body and the first act of civilization of Kauṇḍinya was the throwing of a piece of drapery to cover her nakedness. In due course, he was married to the Princess and received from her father a part of his kingdom as a dowry for the marriage. The family thus founded came to be known as Somā-Kauṇḍinya vaṃśa. The offspring of the union provided a number of kṣatriya princes called Varmans, who successively ruled in the tract formerly known as Fu-nan. The story of romantic meeting is plastically represented in a monument in Champā at a place called Tra-keo.

The second missionary to visit the area was Ṛṣi Kambuja, who likewise married a local princess named Mīrā and likewise begat a number of kṣatriya princess who ruled over Kambuja-deśa, named after Ṛṣi Kambuja. The two kingdoms were amalgamated under king Śrutavarman who became the head of the amalgamated kingdom about 400 A.D. During successive centuries thousand of learned Brahmins, experts in all branches of knowledge were imported from India and settled in Kambuja to develop a full-fledged Brahmanical colony. The various portions of the kingdom were given Sanskrit names and the country was inundated with temples, each provided with adequate grants for the religious services. Many learned brahmins acted as ministers and spiritual guides or gurus of the reigning king and also were entrusted with diverse duties in the civil and military administration of the country and as administrators of the religious foundations. Thus Kambuja-deśa became in every inch a brahmanical land. The skillful administration of the country produced large volume of wealth, gold, silver and jewels—so that the kingdom became the richest tract in Further India for several centuries. The story of the riches and prosperity of the kingdom drew several Chinese travellers who have left vivid descriptions of the glories and prosperity of the kingdom. Before we proceed to describe the great

monuments of the country, we propose to cite a Sanskrit inscription which is typical of thousands of others of its kind. The earliest surviving inscription begins with an invocation to Viṣṇu and records the pious donations of Kula-prabhāvatī, the chief queen of Jayavarman. She installed an image of a god in Kurumbanagara inhabited by brahmins and also built an *ārāma* (hermitage) with a tank and a dwelling house. The king Jayavarman of this inscription is to be identified with the king of Fu-nan who ruled from about 475 to 514 A. D. As an illustration of the typical text of numerous inscriptions we cite a śloka recorded by king Śrī Bhavavarman:

Śarāsano yojitārthadānaiḥ karasthalokadvitayena tena |
Tryambakaṃ liṅgamidaṃ nṛpeṇa niveśitaṃ Śrī-Bhavavarmanāmnā ||

Its translation is: Together with the gift of riches conquered through the efforts of the bow, this liṅga Tryambaka (Śiva) was installed by the King named Śrī Bhavavarman who holds the two worlds in his hand.

Before we survey the architectural glories of Cambodia, it will be useful to refer to an inscription in Cambodia which records the presence of a third member of the Agastya clan who came from India and stopped at a famous Śaiva shrine in Cambodia where he worshipped upto the time of his death:

Āryadeśe samutpannaḥ Śivārādhana-tatparaḥ
*Yo yogenāgataḥ Kambudeśe 'smin * * **
Śri-Bhadreśvara-Śambhor yajanārtham
samāyātaḥ cirakālaṃ tam abhyarcya
*Prayayau padamaiśvaraṃ * * Dvijāgastya*
*** Siddharṣi * * Pītasāgaraḥ |*

Bergaine, Inscriptions Sanscrite de Champa et du Cambodge 1893, LXV, 48a-b p. 380(560).

Of several thousand brahmins who came from India (Ārya-deśa) and visited Cambodia the most distinguished visitor was a member of the Agastya gotra referred to in the above inscription.

But the most brilliant achievement of Hindu culture in Cambodia is embodied in a series of architectural monuments unsurpassed in any part of the world. When these stupendous temples were first discovered by a Frenchman "he sprang forward in ecstasy to meet marvel after marvel. He thought himself translated to some other planet. Such beauty, such grandeur could not exist on earth unknown." We have no space to cover all the monuments but can only refer to the few important highlights—Angkor Vat and Angkor Thom.

The present names are vulgar forms of original Sanskrit appellations. The latter is of earlier date, namely, late ninth century and the former belongs to early twelfth century erected by king Indravarman and King Sūryavarman. The earlier temple is represented by a shrine called Bayon decorated with a series of collosal towers with the face of Śiva. The Angkor Vat, though later in date, is magnificently planned on imposing cruciform terraces terminating in a series of five captivating towers visible from a great distance. Attached to this temple is a long covered stone corridor, the walls of which are decorated with two thousand square yards of carvings, illustrating the Rāmāyaṇa and Purāṇa scenes. The most magnificent relief is the one depicting the Churning of the Ocean. Most of the facades of the temples of Angkor Vat are decorated with thrilling reliefs of devadāsīs or sacred dancers, of which an American pilgrim has recorded the following impression: "The Devadāsīs, Oh the Devadāsīs! I am sure I heard a humming chorus of musical calls from them." It is said that there were seventy thousand brahmins in these temples, charged with different duties for the service of the gods. There is an interesting record of Tcheou Ta-kouan, who came on a mission from the Chinese Emperor in 1295: Gold and jewels are so dazzled memories indicate a weakness for the marvellous wealth he saw displayed. He tells of a tower of gold on the big temple of the Bayon which occupies the exact centre of the square which is Angkor Thom.

Campā. We now come to the last territory of Indo-China abutting on the Pacific Ocean. It is known as Campā or Mahā-Campā, the lands of the Cams and of Indo-Cam civilization during a period of about a thousand years.

The oldest Hindu monument is the Sanskrit inscription of Vo-Canh, in an early South Indian script recording the name of a king of the Śrī-Māra dynasty and dating from the third or second century A.D. We have here a positive evidence of a Śiva temple on the shores of the Pacific erected long before the Gupta period. At this time there existed in the Nhatrang region a Hindu kingdom known as Kauthāra, succeeded a little later by that of Pāṇḍuraṅga at Phanrang. Indo-Cam rulers of Cambodian, and ultimately of Pallava origin, gradually extended their power to the north and established a capital at Tra-kieu (Siṃhapura or Indrapura) with a citadel at Kiu-su and temple cities at Mi-son and Dong-duong.

The ancient art of Campā is closely related to that of Cambodia but almost all the temples are isolated śikhara shrines of brick, with stone doorways or groups of such towers with related structures.

The sacred city of Mi-son was founded by Bhadravarman I about 400 A.D., when the Bhadreśvara liṅga was set up. The great shrine now existing was built by Bhadravarman's second successor on the site of the original wooden temple, soon after 600.

The sculpture of Mi-son, largely of the seventh century, is now collected in the Museum at Tourane. It is almost all of Śaiva character, and includes representations of Śiva, Skanda and Gaṇeśa. The style cannot be called primitive, but is still creative. Unequal in quality, the finest pieces are marvels of powerful modelling or grace of conception.

At Dong-duong, even nearer to Tra-kieu, has been found the important inscription of Indravarman, dated 875, praising the virtues of the Śambhu-Bhadreśvara liṅga. Meanwhile, still further south, in the cradle of Cam power, the legendary king Vicitrasāgara had erected the wooden temple of Po Nagara, the "Lady of the Land," and in the eighth or ninth century followed the first brick building, near which still later temples were added. The main sanctuary contains an image of Pārvatī, which has replaced by an original liṅga. The liṅga temple of Po Klaun Gorai, founded by Siṃhavarman III, contains the original Siṃhavarmaliṅgeśvara, still worshipped by a residue of Cams. In the Museum of Tourane are several fine Hindu images such as a standing image of Kārtikeya, a seated image of Śiva, a relief of Pārvatī and a wonderful Gaṇeśa tasting sweets from a vessel held in his left hand. We shall close our survey of Cam by referring to the pedestal of Tra-kieu on which there is a graphic relief of the meeting of Kauṇḍinya and Somā. The record of Hindu culture in Mahā-Campā is a brilliantly fascinating one.

Sumatra. Situated close to the Malay Peninsula, with which it was politically united, Sumatra was occupied by Hindus at a very early date before the beginning of the Christian era. It is referred to in the Jātakas and the Rāmāyaṇa as the Land of Gold, Suvarṇa-dvīpa or Suvarṇa-bhūmi. The early Hindu phase has left very few vestiges. Fa-hien, visiting Sumatra in 414 A.D., found few or no Buddhists. A little later, Sumatra was overlaid by Buddhism, under rule of the famous Śailendra dynasty and the great empire of Śrīvijaya with its capital at Palembang.

Excavations in 1935-36 brought to light some interesting Hindu vestiges. The most important image is that of Bhairava standing on a pedestal of five skulls (*pañcamuṇḍa*) similar to a Bhairava found in Java. But the earlier specimens of Hindu worship are a series of cylindrical forms, some decorated, wrongly referred to as *stambhas*. They are nothing but liṅgas. At a site, called

Bahat we have a seated form of Gaṇeśa (now in Jakarta).

On the east of Palembang, apparently an old Hindu site, a very beautiful bronze image of Śiva with four arms has been assigned the late date of 14-15 centuries, which cannot be related to any earlier Hindu phase.

In connection with Śiva we have a very beautiful Dancing Bull (*vṛṣa*). But the most important Hindu bronze image is a lively effigy of Viṣṇu standing on a moving Garuḍa.

An old temple without any images has been identified as the site of a temple of Śiva. These are the few vestiges of Hindu culture in Sumatra.

Java. The island of Java (Yavadvīpa) is an important centre of Hindu and Buddhist culture which has become famous in history, the Hindu relics being no less important than the Buddhist vestiges. The earliest Hindu record is in Western Java at a place called Taruma watered by the river of the same name and ruled by a Vaiṣṇava prince called Pūrṇavarman whose footprints are carved on a rock at the site. The inscription runs as follows: *Vikrāntāsyāvanipateḥ śrīmataḥ Pūrṇavarmaṇaḥ Tārūmānarendrasya Viṣṇor iva padadvayam* (fourth or fifth century A. D.).

But the most important Hindu remains belong to Central and Eastern Java. We first cite a Sanskrit inscription describing the riches and harvest of the island: *Āsīd dvīpavaram Yavākhyam atuladhānyādi-vijādhikam sampannaṃ kanakākarais tadamaraidinopārjitam. Śrīmad Kuñjarakuñja-deśa-nihita-vaṁśadativadhratam sthānam divyatamam śivāya jagataś śàmbhostu yatrādbhutam* "There was the best of islands, Java by name, the incomparable store-house of grains, paddy, and adorned with gold mines. There on the island exists a very beautiful miraculous sanctuary of Śiva and it has been transferred from the clan which was living in the blessed land of Kuñjarakuñja-deśa as it is called". This inscription is dated 654 Śaka (732 A. D.). From this record it appears that the first Śaiva temple in Java was erected by a Brahmin clan of the Agastya gotra and the model of the temple was derived from a Śaiva temple in Kuñjara-kuñja (kona)-deśa— a sacred site in Southern India, on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā. According to another inscription of Central Java, Agastya himself built a temple of Śiva. Agastya himself has been regarded in Java as the guiding genius of Javanese culture and has been worshipped in Java under the name of Bhaṭāra (Bhaṭṭāraka) Guru or Śiva-Guru, and as a divine being, enjoys precedence over the gods, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. About twenty-four portrait images of Agastya have been discovered in Java establishing the activities of this great Hindu missionary and the existence of a cult of Agastya.

In his great mission of Hinduising the island of Java Agastya received the collaboration of another sage named Bhagavān Tṛṇavindu, who is represented in an inscribed portrait.

The surviving architectural monuments on the Dieng (Dihyang) plateau in Central Java represent the earliest Hindu temples in stone and have a superficial similarity with the group of temples at Seven Pagodas near Madras. These temples are picturesquely named after the Pāṇḍavas-Yudhiṣṭhira, Arjuna, Bhīma, etc. Another important feature of these temples are wonderfully carved collossal kīrtimukha, a symbol of Śiva.

A rich centre of Hinduism is a site known as Prambanan belonging to the restoration period (860-915). This group of temples known as Chandi Loro Jonggrang, the greatest Hindu monument of Java, was certainly designed on quite an ambitious scale, being placed on a walled terrace surrounded by a group of 156 smaller shrines spread outside the walls in three rows. These temples are believed to have been executed about the end of the 9th century by a prince called Dakṣa. Inside the enclosures are three shrines, two in ruin, of Brahmā and Viṣṇu, with the larger temple of Śiva in the centre. The Śiva temple has three side chapels, with independent stairways. The front staircase approaches the main shrine which stands on a terrace, placed on a series of richly decorated plinths. The lower parts of the terrace are surrounded by a richly sculptured balustrade, on the inner side of which is a continuous gallery of friezes, illustrating the story of the Rāmāyaṇa, stopping abruptly at the scene of "bridging the sea" (*setu-bandha*). The Rāmāyaṇa reliefs in their dramatic story-telling power are of a high quality, the like of which is unknown in India proper. In the temple known as Chandi Banon there are collosal images of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Ṛṣi Agastya which are masterpieces of their kind. In later centuries the government moved from central to East Java in the Majapahit period. Of this the central figure is a local Javanese prince called Erlangga (1043 A.D.), who after his death was deified as Viṣṇu and we have a great representation of Erlangga as Viṣṇu riding on Gaṛuḍa. It has come from a site called Belaha. The advent of Islam ultimately overcame the Hindu kingdoms, and the princes and the Hindu population took refuge in the small island of Bali.

Bali. In all probability Bali came under Javanese influence and rule after the twelfth century. The Balinese are a people of great simplicity and charm. Their life consists of ritual offerings, festivals and dances. The temples have no *garbha-gṛha* but beautifully carved entrances through which the rows of

worshippers carry their offerings and go and place them on a *bali-pīṭha* with no elaborate ceremonies. The simplicity of the population and their noble life attracts numerous visitors who have characterised Bali as a 'Lost Paradise'.

Nepal and Tibet. The intimate relationship between Nepal and Tibet is very well-known. It is said that when the advent of Islam destroyed the Buddhist monasteries of Bengal, the Hindu population fled to Nepal in order to preserve and develop Hindu culture. In this new environment the life and art of Bengal found a new and a very picturesque development. The tradition of well-known Bengali sculptors Dhīmān and Bitopala, were carried to Nepal. Numerous artists and sculptors sought refuge in Nepal and developed the new form of art chiefly represented by numerous copper-guilt images both Hindu and Buddhist. The important items are a series of shining images of Viṣṇu, Pārvatī and related deities. The most important products are ritual accessories like Viṣṇucakras, bells, and śaṅkha with wonderfully carved patākās and lamps elaborately designed. Nepal is now the finest depository of Hindu art in all its phases and is a reflection of what existed in North Bengal before the migration.

The developments in Nepal are due to the dynasty of Malla kings whose rule covered a brilliant epoch of Hindu culture. From Nepal art and culture spread to various parts of Tibet. There is the record of a skillful Hindu image-maker, named Aniko, expert in the śilpa-śāstra, who was invited by the famous Kubilai Khan and was employed as the head of the department of religious art. He carried with him several texts of the śilpa-śāstras some of which were translated into Chinese.

We have a very interesting portrait of a Nepalese Princess (name unknown) who was the daughter of the Nepalese king Aṁśuvarman and who was married to the great Tibetan king Sroṅ-tsaṅ-gampo. When the Nepalese Princess left for her new home she carried with her Hindu images. This is an interesting example of the penetration of Indian art into Tibet.

In our hasty survey of a great theme we have presented a glimpse into the miraculous migration of various forms of Hindu culture to countries beyond the frontiers of India proper.

J. GONDA, UTRECHT (HOLLAND)

BACKGROUND AND VARIANTS OF THE HIRAṆYAGARBHA CONCEPTION

It is a curious fact that in discussing the cosmogony of the Ṛgveda some prominent authors of handbooks should have neglected to pay to the Golden Germ (*hiraṇyagarbha*) of ṚV. 10.121.1 the attention it deserves. Oldenberg[1] did not even mention the name; Keith[2] contented himself with writing that "Prajāpati bears the title of Hiraṇyagarbha"; Dasgupta[3] inaccurately observed that "the Supreme Being is sometimes extolled as the supreme Lord of the world called the golden egg (Hiraṇyagarbha)"; Edgerton[4] noticed that the term was used in connection with the Demiurg. It was left to the Dutch archaeologist Bosch[5] to make some important remarks on the 'background symbolism' of this idea. In an important, though somewhat subjective and in places speculative, book which intends to be an introduction to Indian symbolism he drew attention to the undeniable fact that there exists, in the Veda, a close relation between the 'vital principle' and the complex of ideas represented by the god of fire, Agni. Part of his argument may, in a more systematical form, be repeated here by way of introduction to some remarks of my own.

Bosch' argument resolves itself into the following three points. The relationship between Agni and Hiraṇyagarbha is especially apparent from the fact that both of them are said to consist of gold (see e.g. ṚV. 2.2.4; 4.3.1; 7.3.6; 10.20.9). Like the Golden Germ Agni is believed to have been born of the Waters (see e.g. ṚV. 10.91.6; AV. 1.33.1). There exists a relation between Agni and Prajāpati which is similar to that existing between Hiraṇyagarbha and that god (see below).

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[1] H. Oldenberg, Die Religion des Veda, Stuttgart-Berlin[4] 1923, p. 278.

[2] A. B. Keith, The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads, Cambridge Mass. 1925, p. 208.

[3] S. Dasgupta, A History of Indian Philosophy, I, Cambridge 1951, p. 23. For the "golden egg" see also P. Masson-Oursel, Histoire de la philosophie indienne, Paris 1923, p. 177.

[4] F. Edgerton, The Beginnings of Indian Philosophy, London 1965, p. 348.

[5] F. D. K. Bosch, De gouden kiem, Amsterdam 1948, esp. p. 56ff. (English edition: The Golden Germ, The Hague 1960, esp. p. 57ff.).

Now in substantiation of the first point much more can be adduced than the four Ṛgvedic and two epic places collected by my late lamented compatriot. For instance, at ṚV. 4.10.6 Agni's body or self (*tanū*) is said to be "pure gold" (*śúci hiraṇyam*). Authors of brāhmaṇas agree with the idea that gold and fire are essentially identical. See e.g. TB. 2.2.5.2 *āgneyaṃ vai hiraṇyam*: because, the commentator recalls, gold is of the form of Agni's seed. Compare also PB. 1.8.5. Side by side with this identification we find the assertion that gold is Agni's light: VS. 4.17; ŚB. 3.2.4.8, the latter text expressly identifying gold and light or splendour (*varcas*); 4.3.4.21 *jyotir hi hiraṇyam*; 6.7.1.2; 13.4.1.7 "gold indeed is fire, light, immortality" where Mahīdhara takes *śukram*, not in the sense of "light", but of "(Agni's) virile power (*agner vīryam*)"; TB. 1.4.4.1; 2.7.9.3;[1] 3.8.22.3; 3.9.4.5; PB. 6.6.10f.; 18.7.8 (cf. also 12.13.25; 18.9.8f.), and compare ṚV. 8.65.11; JB. 1.205; JB. 1.62 states that "by means of a piece of gold a 'symbol' (*rūpam*) is made of the one that shines there"[6]. For gold and the sun—whose light is Agni (ŚB. 2.3.1.30f.)[7]—see ṚV. 1.46.10: "the sun is equivalent to gold" (*hiraṇyam práti sū́ryaḥ*); VS. 10.16; ŚB. 10.5.2.6; 7; 12.4.4.6. At AiB. 7.12.2 both gold and sun are said to be pure light (*jyotiḥ śukram*). At ŚB. 7.4.1.10 a gold plate is identified with the sun. Compare also ŚB 3.9.2.9 where gold represents that heavenly body. The author of TB. 3.11.7.3 informs us that gold is Agni's 'home'—the place where he naturally and normally belongs, fulfils his task; his right and proper place and support and firm foundation (*āyatanaṃ pratiṣṭhā*)—as well as the god's body[8]. By means of the light of gold (*hiraṇyajyotiṣā*) the sacrificer goes to the heavenly world: TB. 3.8.22.3; 3.12.5.10; ŚB. 13.2.2.16. The conclusion seems legitimate that these texts point to the conviction that gold was a form of materialized sunlight[9].

At this point it is worth recalling that the close connection between gold and the light of the sun, the identity, so to say of the lustre of this metal and the splendour of the heavenly body, did not fail to impress other peoples of antiquity also. Says the Greek poet Pindarus Ol. Od. 1.1 f. "gold, like fire flaming at night, gleams more brightly than all other lordly wealth" and Isth. Od. 5.1 ff. "O Mother of the Sun-god, Theia of many names! For thy sake men even set a stamp upon gold, as mighty beyond all beside!". That means: As

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[6] See H. W. Bodewitz, Agnihotra, Prāṇāgnihotra, Thesis Utrecht 1973, p. 201f.

[7] For Agni and the sun see e. g. also ŚB. 7.1.1.23; 8.6.1.16; 9.2.3.28; 34; 10.6.2.5f.

[8] For ŚB. 7.4.1.15 see below.

[9] For the conception of the identity of gold and fire or light compare R. B. Onians, The Origin of European Thought, Cambridge 1954, p. 166. For brilliance as the essence of Agni see also N. J. Shende, Mythology of the Yajurveda, in Journal of the University of Bombay, N. S. 26 (1957), II, p. 44f.

the mother of Sun; Moon and Dawn she is the principle of Light; appearing in many forms, and giving brightness to all her offspring, she is also the cause of the brightness of gold and prompts men to stamp it"[10]; and elsewhere (Pind., fr. 222) the same poet expresses the opinion that Gold is the son of the god of Heaven (Zeus).

As is well known gold is in the Veda often declared to be life (vital force: *prāṇa*, ŚB. 7.5.2.8) or, more often, continuance of life (a full life-time, TB. 1.8.9.1), the so-called 'immortality'. See e. g. TB. 1.3.7.7; 1.7.8.1; ŚB. 4.3.4.24 *āyur hi hiraṇyam* (cf. 28); 12.9.1.4; 3.8.2.27 *amṛtam āyur hiraṇyam*; 3.8.3.26; 4.5.2.10; 4.6.1.6; 8; 5.1.5.28; 5.3.5.15; 5.4,1.12; 6.2.1.38; 7.4.2.17 *amṛtaṃ hiraṇyum*; PB. 9.9.4. At ŚB. 13.1.1.4 one places *āyur indriyaṃ vīryam* into one's own self by means of gold: one of those many instances of a ritual practice founded on an identification. It is therefore not surprising to read, at ŚB. 4.5.2.10 that by means of the formula "thou who hast a golden womb (VS. 8.29 *yasyai yonir hiraṇyayī*)" the womb of a definite sacrificial cow is made 'immortal'.

It has already been noticed that the commentator on TB. 2.2.5.2 explains the fiery nature of gold by a reference to the belief that it was Agni's seed[11]. This is indeed stated at TB. 1.1.3.8: Agni has intercourse with the Waters who are Varuṇa's wives, and loses his seed, which becomes gold (*āpo varuṇasya patnaya āsan. tā agnir abhyadhyāyat. tāḥ samabhavan. tasya retaḥ parāpatat. tad dhiraṇyam abhavat*). For gold having sprung from or being the god's seed see also TB. 1.2.1.4 *agne retaś candraṃ hiraṇyam*; ŚB. 2.1.1.5 ("...his seed became gold. That is why this shines like fire"); 3.3.1.3; 3.3.2.2; 4.5.1.15 (where this metal is said to be a sacrifice to Agni); also 5.5.1.8; 12.4.3.1; 14.1.3.14; JB. 1.56 "gold is the seed of Agni and the father is identical with the son". At ŚB. 3.2.4.8 milk and gold are declared to be of the same origin, "since both have sprung from Agni's seed" (cf. 2.2.4.15; 2.3.1.15; 9.5.1.56; 12.4.1.7 "seed is milk"; cf. 12.9.1.2). So it is not surprising to see that the author of ŚB. 13.1.1.3, while commenting upon the aśvamedha, states that when the horse—i.e. Prajāpati in the form of the horse—was immolated its semen went from it and became gold. As already observed by Eggeling[12] gold is here also Agni's seed and Agni and Prajāpati are implicitly identified. Elsewhere (ŚB. 6.7.1.4) there is no reference to the metal, but "this fire" is simply said to be "seed poured out" (*reto vā idaṃ siktam*

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[10] See J. Sandys, The Odes of Pindar, London-Cambridge Mass. 1957, p. 473.

[11] For Agni's seed (without a reference to gold) see e. g. TS. 5.5.4.1. For the conception of the procreative principle as active in fire in the ancient world see also Onians, o. c., p. 156; 158.

[12] J. Eggeling, The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa translated, V, Oxford 1900, p. 275, n. 1.

ayam agniḥ). It may be recalled that at 9.5.1.68 Agni is as the vital power *prāṇa* said "to enter the infused seed and to take possession of it"—cf. AiB. 6.3.10 "Agni places seeds in the wives for propagation"; TB. 2.1.2.11 *agnir vai retodhāḥ*—; interestingly enough at ŚB. 10.3.2.7 Prajāpati is "the prāṇa whence the seed flows"[13].

Statements of the intimate relation between, or identity of, gold and semen are however not limited to Agni[14]. In connection with the narrative of Indra's disintegration in ŚB. 12.7.1.1 ff.—"he (the god) went asunder in every direction; the full command of his physical and psychical faculties (*indriyam*), his virile and vital power or virtue (*vīryam*) flowed away from every limb,... (7) from his seed his form[15] flowed and became gold (*retasa evāsya rūpam asravat tat suvarṇam hiraṇyam abhavat*)"—it may be recalled that at 12.7.2.13 gold is a means of securing *rūpam*. At TB. 1.8.9.1 a similar tradition is handed down with regard to Varuṇa's semen: "When Varuṇa was consecrated the waters removed his *indriyaṃ vīryam*. This became *suvarṇaṃ hiraṇyam*". In TB. 3.8.2.4 it is the semen of the sacrificial horse which becomes gold. A brief identification of *retas* and gold occurs at TB. 3.8.2.4. At JUB. 1.58.7 the former is compared to undefined sparkling gold. In Greek mythology it was Zeus who, while visiting Danae as a shower of gold, generated a son (cf. e. g. Pindarus, Pyth. Od. 12.17 f.). Elsewhere Prajāpati, desirous of offspring, is said to have emitted gold which he threw into the (sacrificial) fire. As it did not please the fire he threw it into himself, into his heart (TB. 3.11.8.6).

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[13] Since sand is identified with Agni's ashes (MS. 3.2.7: 26.14) and therefore is considered a manifestation of that god (e. g. TS. 5.2.3.2) it is not surprising to read that sand is also identified with the god's *retas* (e. g. ŚB. 7.1.1.10). See J. J. Meyer, Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation, Zürich-Leipzig 1937, I, p. 116; III, p. 183.

[14] I cannot suppress a reference to the Iranian *hvar*, *chvar* which, related to *svar*, *sūrya* "sun" and denoting "the light of heaven, the sun" —and it may be remembered that this celestial body was considered to be the visible form of Ahura Mazdāh (see e. g. R. C. Zaehner, The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism, London 1961, p. 68; 75)—is in the Denkart (see BSOAS 9, p. 876ff.) said to have been formed by that creator god, now called Ohrmazd. "The seed from which it derives is the Endless Light...Subject to the command of the Creator it is the spiritual gods who are responsible for assigning it to the material seed...The proper function of the *chvar* is to save and to bring about salvation..." (see R. C. Zaehner, Zurvan, Oxford 1955, p. 370f., who has rightly left the Iranian term *hvar* untranslated because traditional renderings such as "glory" or "fortune" will not do; in the case of a king it is something like "majesty" but in connection with God it "is simply his Being"). "The conception of 'seed' plays an important part in the ontological parts of the Denkart" (Zaehner, Zurvan, p. 211).

[15] See A. Minard, Trois énigmes sur les Cent Chemins, II, Paris 1956, p. 238, § 651a.

The ancients obviously were strongly inclined to believe that seed (*retas*) is a form or manifestation of light, and that this is what it has in common with gold. This identity is clearly stated at ŚB. 2.3.1.32: "In saying, 'Agni is light (*jyotis*), light is Agni, *svāhā*', he encloses that seed, light, on both sides with the deity, viz. Agni"[16] (the text is discussing the agnihotra ceremonies) and 35 "Then, in the morning, with the words, 'The light is Sūrya (the Sun), Sūrya is the light', he places that seed, light, outside by means of the deity..."; see also TB. 2.1.9.2 *agnir jyotir jyotir agniḥ svāheti...reta eva tad dadhāti*. In TB. 2.1.2.11 the statement *agnir vai retodhāḥ* "Agni is (the god) who impregnates" is preceded by *agnir jyotir ity āha*: "Agni is light". At ŚB. 7.4.2.24 we find the interesting piece of information that the testicles, here called the "seed-shedders" (*retaḥsicau*), "contain that light, the seed, Prajāpati" (*tāv etaj jyotir dhārayato reta eva prajāpatim eva*); in TB. 3.9.17.5 the qualification *sauryam* ("belonging to the Sun"; the commentary explains *sūryasya retaḥsvāmitvāt*). The author of AiĀ. 2.3.7 expounds the theory that in women, blood is the form of Agni and in men, seed is the form of Āditya (...*yad etat puruṣe reto bhavaty ādityasya tad rūpam*). At AiĀ. 3.1.2 there is question of a correspondence between fire and seed which is of the same character as that between sun and eye.

Now it is worth recalling that ŚB. 7.4.2.17, dealing, in a discussion of the agnicayana, with the *dviyajus* brick, explicity states that the gold man is the sacrificer's divine body and "this brick (made of clay) his human body". "As to that gold man, that is his immortal (*amṛtam*) form, his divine form". The sacrificer who performs the agnicayana rite undergoes a sort of deification: "he is born in yonder world as one made of gold" (ŚB. 10.1.4.9; see also AiĀ. 2.1.3, where Sāyaṇa explains: "He appears as golden as the sun"). And the sacrificer makes himself a golden body in imitation of Prajāpati who "finally made a golden form for his body, and...this was the final form of his body; whence people speak of 'the golden Prajāpati'" (ŚB. 10.1.4.9). In the same line of thought the Puruṣa in the heart, compared to a smokeless light, is believed to consist of gold (10.6.3.2). Gold indeed is a form or manifestation (*rūpa*) of the gods: ŚB. 12.8.1.15.

The intimate relation between gold and divinity[17] is also clear from the passage ŚB. 4.3.4.6 "Having tied a piece of gold in the unwoven end of a cloth...he offers (with the words): 'I hope there will be a place for me in the world of the gods'". The man who gives gold as a dakṣiṇā will go to the

[16] The text implies non-identity of Agni and seed, although both of them are light.

[17] For a collection of texts see P. S. Sastri, The imagery of Ṛgveda, Annals Bhandarkar Or. Inst. 29 (1948), p. 165 ff.

heavenly world, endowed with the splendour of gold (*hiraṇyajyotis*, TB. 3.12.5. 10). "Those who give gold to the brahmans will be transubstantiated into light and dwell in heaven" (AVPar. 13.5.4 *jyotir bhūtvā divi sthitāḥ*): we know that the quality and quantity of a dakṣiṇā are related to the purpose of the sacrifice (cf. e.g. ŚB. 13.1.5.6)[18]. See also JB. 2.98. See also TB. 2.2.4.5 f. relating *durvarṇaṃ hiraṇyam* to the asuras, *suvarṇaṃ hiraṇyam* to the devas[19]. In ancient Greece also the adjective for "golden" (*chruseos*) was frequently used of what belongs to the gods.

In view of the antique belief in the 'divinity' of kings and the ruling class attention may parenthetically be drawn to the interesting parallel between ŚB. 13.2.2.17 "gold is a form of (represents) nobility (*kṣatram*)" and the conviction of other peoples that the one who is the legitimate owner of gold is entitled to hold the throne by lawful hereditary right. Compare e.g. the interesting Scythic story preserved by Herodotus 4.5ff.: the youngest of three brothers, sons of the first human being, who alone could handle golden objects became their first king. A rod of gold or studded with gold is already in Homer the symbol of sovereignty and royal sway (Iliad 1.245 f.; 279; 2.100 ff.; 186; 6.159; 9.99 etc.). The symbol of king Atreus' royal power was, in Greek mythology (Alcmaeon, fr. 6), a ram of golden fleece and according to an Iranian tradition the chvarĕnah or "kingly glory" could materialize in a similar animal[20].

Like the light of heavens gold expressed also for the ancient Greeks the ideas, not only of the eternally beautiful and of the imperishable[21], but also of the truly divine. Many objects belonging to the gods are, in Homer and other Greek poets, of gold[22]. It is only a golden bough which, according to the Roman poet Vergilius (Aeneis 6.137). enables Aeneas to enter the Nether World without detriment to his vital power, because gold 'symbolizes' or rather represents life itself. "By gold very much is expressed which we too ascribe to deity: difference in nature, sublimity, beauty, immortality, since gold signifies

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[18] See also J. C. Heesterman, in Indo-Iranian Journal, 3, p. 241 ff.

[19] Cf. also VS. 21.37 etc.

[20] See Th. Nöldeke in Bezzenbergers Beiträge, 4, p. 22f.; Fixson (see the next note), p. 22f.

[21] See W. F. Otto, Die Götter Griechenlands, [4]1956, p. 211; L. Preller-C. Robert, Griechische Mythologie, [4]1894-1926, I, p. 88; K. K. Fixson, Das goldene Geschlecht des Hesiodus, (unpublished) thesis Königsberg 1943 (I am indebted to my colleague H. Wagenvoort for drawing my attention to this thesis).

[22] According to Marjalainen, Die Religion der Jugra Völker, II, p. 250ff., quoted by Miss Fixson, o.c., p. 13 the sky-god of the Woguls and Ostjaks is regarded as the "Great golden Father" and as being "the golden splendour on high".

eternal life"[23]. Gods, and especially gods of light and the heavens, are often represented as being closely connected with gold: the Egyptian Re[24], "whose skin is of pure gold", the Greek Apollo and Aphrodite, and others.

Turning now to Agni's origin in the waters a short note may suffice, because this event is often referred to and mentioned in the handbooks[25]: see for instance ṚV. 1.95.3; 2.1.1; 3.9.2; 4.1.11; 4.40.5; 7.9.3; 8.43.28; 10.45.1; 10.91.6; 10.121.7; AV. 12.1.19. That Agni was born in or from the Waters can be read also in AVŚ. 1.33.1: "Of golden colour, clean, purifying; in whom (was) born Savitar, in whom Agni; who, of beautiful colour, assumed Agni as embryo (*garbham*)...". Notice that the Waters which so to say constitute Agni's womb are expressly characterized as being of golden colour *(hiraṇyavarṇāḥ)*[26]. In the parallel stanza AVP. 1.25.1 Savitar and Agni in pāda b are replaced by Kaśyapa (=Savitar[27]) and Indra, but Agni, the embryo is also mentioned in pāda c.

According to a mythical narrative preserved in ŚB. 1.2.3.1 ff. Agni formerly had a fourfold form. That Agni whom they (the gods) had chosen for the office of the hotar-priest passed away. The second and third forms of the god also suffered the same fate. The fourth form, "the one which still constitutes fire in our time", concealed himself in the waters from fear of meeting with the same misfortune. The gods discovered him and dragged him forcibly out of the water. Agni, reproaching the waters for being an unsafe place of refuge, spat upon them. The saliva served as *vīrya* (semen) and from that were produced the three Āptyas, viz. Trita, Dvita, and Ekata. These three births remind us of the threefold origin of the god himself which is clearly expressed at ṚV. 10.45.1 ff. (cf. 1.95.3; 4.1.7). Owing to these three births he is often described as having a triple character[28], but after referring to his forms the poet of ṚV. 10.45.2 makes mention of his highest name, which is secret, as the source from which the god has come. This does not only mean that the god phenomenally exists in three places (in the celestial world, among men, in the waters) so as

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[23] G. van der Leeuw, Religion in Essence and Manifestation, London 1938, p. 170.

[24] Fixson, o.c., p. 14; see also A. Erman, Die Religion der Ägypter, Berlin-Leipzig 1934, p. 27.

[25] Compare e.g. also A.A. Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, Strassburg 1897, p. 92.

[26] For variants see W.D. Whitney-C.R. Lanman, Atharva-Veda Saṃhitā, Cambridge Mass. 1905, p. 33.

[27] Cf. M. Bloomfield, in Amer. J. of Phil. 17, p. 403.

[28] See e.g. A. Bergaigne, La religion védique, I, Paris 1878, ²1963, p. 21f.; Macdonell, o.c., p. 93.

to be present and manifest himself in many *dhāmāni*[29]; there is a 'fourth form of his', his highest name or the secret aspect of his personality. See also TS. 2.6.6.1; 6.2.8.4. It would be needless to expatiate upon the well-known similar view of the Highest being in one quarter phenomenal and in three quarters immortal and inaccessible (the Puruṣa: ṚV. 10,90.4; Brahman: ChU. 3.12.6; cf. BĀU. 1.4.7). What is worth noticing is that the belief in the phenomenal incompleteness of the Highest was at an early date expressed in connection with the God of Fire and then (likewise in the ratio 3: 1) also with Prajāpati, because at ŚB. 4.6.1.4 it reads: "Prajāpati is the fourth over and above these three worlds".

That it was the primeval waters which bore or rather conceived the Hiraṇyagarbha is clearly stated at ṚV. 10.121.7 which will be discussed below. In other texts mention is made, not of an embryo but of an egg and this golden egg is explicitly said to have been produced by the Waters (ŚB. 11.1.6.1). Although in the cosmogonic myth of the golden egg from which Prajāpati came into existence—as handed down in ŚB. 11.1.6.1 f.—no mention is made of Agni, it is clear that the fiery element is, here also, of fundamental importance, because the primeval Waters[30] desiring to be reproduced, are described as having toiled and becoming heated with fervid austerities: they performed tapas, generated heat by ascetic practices. "And when they were becoming heated, a golden egg was produced", which floated about, bearing Prajāpati. The myth being no doubt conceived on the analogy of a bird's egg, the egg should of course not be regarded as being a solid ball of gold. The text does not speak of a father, or of Agni's seed; yet the fiery element is at the beginning of the process[31].

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[29] See J. Gonda, Notes on Names and the Name of God in Ancient India, Amsterdam Acad. 1970, p. 46f.

[30] For the primeval waters now see M. Eliade, Patterns in Comparative Religion, London-New York 1958, p. 188ff.

[31] Recently it was once again recalled (W. Doniger O'Flaherty, The submarine fire in the mythology of Śiva, J.R.A.S. 1971, p. 9f.) that the two natural symbols, fire—an image of energy, "all the more compelling in a land in which heat is so intense as to become a constantly obtrusive image of power"—and water—symbolizing, inter alia, immortality, fertility and the female power of creation—often occur in combination, "the image of Fire (male) in Water (female) being the ultimate resolution of oppositions": "held in suspended union, each retains its full power and nothing is lost in compromise, but there is complete balance". This 'balance of powers' is, in the Veda, represented by the conception of Agni in the waters, in which the god of fire is not destroyed, but hidden and no less capable of powerful action. This is true, but in this connection the waters are first and foremost the primeval 'material' of the universe before creation.

However, in the parallel, but more complicated, myth ŚB. 6.1.1.5 ff.[32] the Person became Prajāpati who is explicitly declared to be identical with Agni (who in this context is the great fire-place which is being built) and it is Prajāpati who is said to toil and practise austerity (*tapas*), because he desired to be reproduced. In 10 it is the same Puruṣa Prajāpati (8) who, desiring to be reproduced from the Waters, entered them with the threefold Veda; "then an egg arose", from which Brahman, the Threefold Veda came forth.

In these myths the waters "symbolize the universal sum of virtualities"[33]. They are the reservoir of all the possibilities of existence. Being formless they precede every definite form and support every creation (ṚV. 10.129.1). Says the Bhaviṣyottara-purāṇa, 31.14 "Water, thou art the source of everything and of every existence". Thus they are regarded as the firm foundation of the universe (ŚB. 6.8.2.2; 12.5.2.14 *āpo vā asya sarvasya pratiṣṭhā*).

The Indians were not alone in creating a myth of a cosmogonic egg, There is an Egyptian parallel[34] and this also is handed down in variants, showing the same absence of a hard-and-fast line between creation and a physical origin of the universe which is characteristic of the Indian mythical complex. In the beginning the Sun-god arose, in the form of a falcon, out of an egg, and this event meant the beginning of life in the universe. According to a variant the egg was produced by a bird, which is once identified with one of the great gods; or the sun-god is said to have arisen from the egg as the child of the eight primeval gods. A similar idea was entertained by the ancient Greek Orphici: the primal god of Love-and-Light (Eros-Phanes) springs from an egg laid by Chronos, i. e. Time who never grows old, in Aither and creates a world containing gods and men[35]. Similar ideas were entertained by the Japanese who held that in the beginning Heaven and Earth were not separated but constituted Chaos resembling an egg, in the midst of which was a germ; since opposition such as male and female did not exist, this chaos represented the perfect Totality[36]. There are Siberian and Indonesian myths in which the Highest Being, having the form of a bird, deposited the egg from which the world was to arise on the primeval waters[37]. Mention may also be made of similar beliefs of the Chinese, the Polynesians and African peoples[38].

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[32] For a variant see ŚB. 6.1.3.1 ff.

[33] M. Eliade, The Sacred and the Profane, New York 1961, p. 130.

[34] I refer to S. Morenz, Ägyptische Religion, Stuttgart 1960, p. 187f.

[35] I refer to O. Kern, Orphicorum fragmenta, Berlin 1922, p. 131 ff.; 143.

[36] Cf. M. Eliade, Mythes, rêves et mystères, Paris 1957, p. 240.

[37] M. Eliade, in Sources orientales, I. La naissance du monde, Paris 1959, p. 480.

[38] Eliade, in Sources orientales, l.c.

In this connection ṚV. 10.121.7 is of special importance. Forming part of the Hiraṇyagarbhasūkta it states that when the waters received an embryo, producing Agni, the Great Unknown God, the sole vital principle of the deities (*devānāṃ...ásur ékaḥ*) arose from that (them: *tataḥ*). As to the words *víśvam ā́yan gárbhaṃ dádhānā(ḥ)* the traditional interpretation, according to which *víśvam* depends on *āyan*, may be preferred to Geldner's translation[39] "receiving the All as embryo", first because *víśvam* is not "the All" but "everything existing", in the second place because of the order of the words. If so. the Waters coming to everything existing, i.e. covering or comprehending everything (Sāyaṇa), coinciding with everything received Agni as their germ, so as to produce the One God. Then the stanza may in a way attest to a 'transition' of Agni as the embryo of the Waters to the One immanent High God.

From a comparison of the texts it is perfectly clear that the cosmogonic myth of a High, Ultimate Principle manifesting itself in the primeval waters existed in variant forms: here the texts speak of a "germ", there of an egg. Now it is worth noticing that the stanza ṚV. 8.43.9 *apsv` agne sádhiṣ ṭáva...gárbhe sáñ jāyase púnaḥ* "In the waters, O Agni, is thy seat; being in the womb (of the plants), thou art born again"—which with the locative *garbhe* occurs also as VS. 12.36 etc.—reads "In the waters, O Agni, is thy seat...; as an embryo thou art born again" (*garbhaḥ saṃjāyase punaḥ*) in MS. 2.7.10:88.7 (MŚS. 5.1.3.25). That means that in the traditional story of Agni's birth both meanings of *garbha* "womb" and "embryo" could give sense. In view of the above connotations of gold it is therefore not surprising to find also references to a 'womb'—so to say the counterpart of the egg—or place of development consisting of that metal[40].

There is a curious story in KB. 6.1: Prajāpati, being desirous of prcpagation, undertook austerities, with the result that five deities, among whom Agni and Uṣas, were born. Uṣas, assuming the form of an apsaras, showed herself to her brothers. Their minds inclined to her and they poured out *retas*. They went to Prajāpati, giving notice of this fact. Prajāpati then made a golden bowl (*hiraṇmayaṃ camasam*), in which he poured the seed. From this arose a divine person who received the names of Bhava and Śarva. The author obviously would not suppress the fact that the material of which the bowl consisted was gold, no doubt because this substance was essential in order to achieve the object Prajāpati had in view. Stories of seed thrown into a

[39] K.F. Geldner, Der Ṛig-Veda übersetzt, Cambridge Mass. 1951, III, p. 348.
[40] Mention has already been made of ŚB. 4.5.2.10.

vessel—another form of a womb—are not rare—ŚB. 7.2.1.5 "when the gods restored the relaxed Prajāpati, they cast him as seed into the fire-pan (*ukhā*), the fire-pan being indeed a womb" (cf. also 6); ṚV. 7.33.13 relates that Varuṇa and Mitra dropped their common or identical semen into a jar: the only ancient reference to the origin of the "jar-born" sage Agastya of later literature[41]—but in these texts there is no question of gold.

Atharvaveda-pariśiṣṭa 13 describes the ritual of a ceremony performed to secure the union of a king with the Golden Embryo (Hiraṇyagarbhavidhi). The main features of this ceremony are: the king is washed over a golden vessel with water containing the five products of the cow and the leavings of the offering, the water being poured from golden jars. He is then shut up in a golden vessel and left to meditate upon Hiraṇyagarbha, observing, in the interior, "a measure of seventeen (units) because seventeen is Prajāpati's number". Afterwards, he is taken out and pressed down with a golden wheel. Then the brahmans declare that he has been favoured or received by Hiraṇyagarbha (*hiraṇyagarbhānugṛhīto 'si*). There can be no doubt that in this process of ritual rebirth a stay in a golden vessel is essential. This reminds us of the ritual prescription that a man who had been missing but returns alive after his death has been presumed should undergo a birth ritual in a vessel made of gold or clay and filled with melted butter and water[42]. Another apposite reference is to be made: ŚB. 2.2.2.7 says that "even as seed is poured into the womb, so the officiants place the sacrificer in the (heavenly) world."

On the other hand there existed the conception of a divine or mysterious being present in a golden vessel or cover. In the Atharvaveda Ś. 10.2, dealing with the wonderful structure of man, it is, at st. 32, stated that those who know Brahman know that being, called *yakṣa* and said to be possessed of an *ātman*. It may be surmised that *yakṣa* practically is another term for Brahman, the more so as at st. 29 mention is made of those who know that Brahman's stronghold covered with amṛta (*yó vai tắṃ bráhmaṇo védāmṛtenắvṛtāṃ púram*) and st. 31 describes the unconquerable stronghold of the gods in which is "the heavenly golden vessel covered with light" meant in st. 32. The closing stanza, 33, puts the matter beyond doubt: "Brahman entered into the resplendent, yellow, golden, unconquerable stronghold, which was all surrounded with glory" (compare also AVP. 16.62).

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[41] J. Gonda, The Vedic God Mitra, Leiden 1972, p. 4; 121ff.

[42] See W. Caland, Die altindischen Todten- und Bestattungsgebräuche, Amsterdam Academy 1896, p. 89 and in Der Urquell, Neue Folge, 2, p. 193; P.V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, IV, Poona 1953, p. 225. As to a vessel made of clay: is it warranted to recall ŚB. 6.3.3.1ff.; 6.4.4.1 where clay is said to represent Agni ?

This presence of a divine being in a golden cover reminds us of the so-called *mahiman* libations, the two somacups drawn for Prajāpati at the aśvamedha. Representing royal dignity (ŚB. 13.2.11.1) and having made, when offered, Prajāpati "great and more numerous" (13.2.11.1) they are to be drawn in a golden and silver vessel respectively (13.5.2.23; 13.5.3.7), to the accompaniment of VS. 23.1=ṚV. 10.121.1 "The Golden Germ..." and VS. 23.63 "The Self-existing One (*svayaṃbhūḥ*), of excellent nature, the first, laid down within the mighty flood the embryo which observes the proper time, from which Prajāpati was born". See also KŚS. 10.5.1 f.[43]

In this connection attention must be drawn to the interesting place VS. 40.17 "The Real's face is hidden by a vessel formed of gold" (*hiraṇmayena pātreṇa satyasyāpihitaṃ mukham*)[44]. That means "the face or real form (*śarīram*, Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara) of the imperishable Puruṣa (the same commentators)—that is "the Puruṣa who (dwells) in the Sun"—the Sole True Being, Brahman, the indwelling 'Spirit' of all things existing, the Puruṣa who dwells in the orb of the sun and in the human body—is hidden etc.". In the Kāṇva recension this closing stanza of the Mādhyandina recension is followed by the words: "... O Sun, Prajāpati's son, remove thy rays and draw together or contract thy burning energy, so that I may behold thy most blessed form". The last words refer to the True Spiritual Essence which is conceived of as veiled by the golden orb of material light[45]. Both recensions agree in identifying, at the end of these stanzas, the human 'Soul' with that Puruṣa ("that Puruṣa

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[43] The combination, and identification, of gold and a mess of rice occurring at ŚB. 13.1.1.4—"along with the priests' mess of rice (*brahmaudana*) he presents gold (to the priests), for the mess of rice is seed (*retas*; this mess may cause pregnancy: J. Gonda, The Savayajñas, Amsterdam Acad. 1965, p. 55ff. and compare Kauś. 35.5; BĀU. 6.4.14ff.), and gold is seed; by means of seed he thus lays seed into that (sacrificial horse, and the sacrificer)"—leads me to make mention of the Buddhist story of Sujātā, daughter of the landowner Senānī who offered a meal of milk-rice in a golden bowl to the Buddha, who while he was sitting under the banyan, was believed to be the tree-god present in person to receive the offering. Buddha took the bowl and ate the food; it was his only meal for forty-nine days (Jātaka I.68ff.). For a golden cover or enclosing with gold (i.e. "immortal life") see also ŚB. 5.4.1.14.

[44] These words recur at BĀU. 5.15.1=ĪśaU. 15 "The face of the Real is covered with a golden vessel", Pūṣan the helpful god of light being implored to unveil it.

[45] Mention may be made also of ChU. 1.6.6 "Now, that golden Person (*hiraṇmayaḥ puruṣaḥ*) who is seen within the sun has a golden beard and golden hair; he is all golden (*suvarṇaḥ*) to the tips of his nails". The golden Person is at BĀU. 4.3.11 identified with the lonely Goose (*ekahaṃsaḥ*), the 'symbol' of the spirit of the universe.

dwelling there, in the sun, am I")[46].

The above-mentioned existence of intimate relations between Agni and Prajāpati appears also from texts such as ŚB. 2.3.3.18; 10.4.1.12; 10.4.2.1, where they are identified (cf. 6.1.2.21); 6.1.2.26, where the latter is Agni's father as well as his son (9.2.3.50; cf. 11.1.6.14); 9.1.2.42: Agni is both offspring and the lord of offspring (*prajāś ca prajāpatiś ca*); 6.2.1.1, where he is said to have coveted Agni's forms; 10,2.4.1, where Prajāpati built for himself a body which contains Agni. Agni is identified with the year (8.2.2.8), and Prajāpati is the year. Agni is "the birthplace of the gods" (AiB. 2.3.7; 2.14.7), who are elsewhere stated to have been created from Prajāpati's vital power or breath (ŚB. 6.1.2.11; 11.1.6.7). Agni is Brahman (ŚB. 8.5.1.12; 10.4.1.5; cf. TS. 5.6.4.5 "the brahmin is connected with Agni"), and Prajāpati is Brahman[47].

In substantiation of the thesis that the relations between the Germ of Life and Prajāpati are similar to those existing between Agni and that god, it was Bosch'[48] contention that in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa the Germ is called Prajāpati's son. However, neither the places quoted (2.4.2.1; 6.2.1.1; 11.1.6.14), nor other places state this relation; at 2.2.4.1 it is Agni, not the Germ of Life, who is generated from Prajāpati's mouth after the latter had performed *tapas*. For Agni as Prajāpati's son see also 9.2.3.50. It may be recalled that Agni is also the child of heaven and earth (of the universe): cf. ŚB. 6.4.4.2, and that the latter is identified with Prajāpati: 6.3.1.11. Bosch left, on the other hand, the interesting passage ŚB. 6.2.2.5 unmentioned: "Hiraṇyagarbha is Prajāpati, and Prajāpati is Agni".

It may—in addition to the above statements and considerations—be remembered that Agni is repeatedly said to be (identical with) all the gods: MS. 2.1.4:6.11; KS. 13.6:187.2; ŚB. 5.2,3.6 *agnir vai sarvā devatāḥ*. Notice also: Agni is indeed the existent (*bhuva*), for it is through Agni that everything exists (*bhū-*) here (ŚB. 8.1.1.4). At ŚB. 6.8.1.4 it however reads: "This Agni (represented by the great fire-place) is Prajāpati, and Prajāpati is the gods as well as men". Nay, "Prajāpati is the god above all other gods; he is the thirty-fourth god, and includes all the gods (which Agni does likewise)"[49]. In the theory underlying the structure of the great fire-place, the agnicayana, both gods are identified—

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[46] "This golden Person who is within the sun, who looks upon this earth from his golden place, is he who has entered into the lotus of the heart..." (MaiU. 6.1).

[47] The interesting place ŚB. 4.6.1.4 (cf. ṚV. 10.45.2) has already been mentioned.

[48] Bosch, l. c.

[49] J. Eggeling, The Satapatha-brāhmaṇa translated, IV, Oxford 1897, p. xx.

"an identification of cardinal importance"[50]—and, what is of special interest, this theory is, in a nutshell, illustrated at ŚB. 7.4.1.15 "He then lays the gold man thereon, and this (man) is Prajāpati, he is Agni, he is the sacrificer. He is made of gold, for gold is light, and fire is light. Gold is immortality, and fire is immortality. It is a man (*puruṣa*), for Prajāpati is the Puruṣa".

When the great fire-place, which is identical with Prajāpati, is built, a round gold plate, representing the sun (ŚB. 7.4.1.10), is laid down in the centre of the construction before the first layer is laid. This plate is identified with the sun, so that Agni-Prajāpati is built up over that celestial body: "from out of his own self he thus fashioned and generated him", the sun and the gold plate being 'homoousian', of the same essence (ŚB. 10.4.2.28 and commentaries). And, as we have seen, "Hiraṇyagarbha is Prajāpati, and Prajāpati is Agni" (6.2.2.5, dealing also with the agnicayana)[51]. It seems therefore warranted to suppose that the homologation, in the Agnicayana ritual, of the divine figures under discussion contributed much to this development of ideas, although, on the other hand, this ritual presupposed their identity[52].

The same elements return in the symbolism of the *ukhā*, the ritual cooking-pot or fire-pan. The *ukhā* is shaped and baked side by side with the construction of the great fire-place, with the forming and baking of its bricks. During the year in which the fire-place is constructed the sacrificer has to carry about the sacred fire in this pan for a certain time each day. Now this utensil is not only identified with the tripartite universe (ŚB. 6.3.3.15; 6.5.2.6; 6.5.3.3), but also with Agni's self or body (6.5.3.4; 5). It belongs to Prajāpati (6.2.2.23), but this exalted figure is also believed to be poured in it as seed into the womb (10.4.1.1) or to pour his own self into it (10.4.2.26)[53].

The preceding pages may be summarized as follows. The Vedic Indians were deeply convinced of the fundamental unity of fire, light and the sun, the source of a light and life. They regarded gold as identical with fire and light and intimately associated with divinity, calling it Agni's seed and considering it a manifestation of (continuance of) life and a means of achieving deification. On the other hand, Agni was believed to have originated in the

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[50] Eggeling, o. c., p. XIX. For the ritual see e. g. J. Gonda, Die Religionen Indiens, I, Stuttgart 1960, p. 191ff.

[51] See e. g. also Eggeling, ibidem, IV Oxford 1897, p. XVII; J. Gonda, Die Religionen Indiens, I, Stuttgart 1960, p. 191ff.

[52] See also H. R. Karnik, Prajāpati legends in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, 20 All-India Or. Conf., Bhubaneshwar 1959 (Poona 1961), II 1, p. 7ff.

[53] That the fire-pan is also considered the womb of the sacrificer (ŚB. 6.2.2.27) and his own self (6.6.1,22) can — however important in itself— be left out of consideration.

waters. So was Hiraṇyagarbha. Among the various ideas formed of the creation of the universe are that of the Golden Germ which, in the beginning, came into being (ṚV. 10.121.1); that of the Golden Egg from which Prajāpati arose (ŚB. 11.1.6.1)[54]; that of the Puruṣa becoming Prajāpati (=Agni) and creating the waters with the Egg (6.1.1.5 ff.). The belief in a divine presence in a golden cover seems to have been no less current than the ritual realization of birth or rebirth in a vessel consisting of that metal. Another idea conceived with regard to Agni which appears also in connection with Prajāpati is that of his phenomenal incompleteness in the ratio 3: 1. They are, moreover, identified or both of them regarded as identical with one and the same third idea.

While there can hardly be any doubt that some ancient mythical motifs and cosmogonic beliefs have been factors in the composition of the whole complex of ideas touched upon in the above pages, it seems on the other hand futile to make an attempt at reducing the variants of this cosmogonic myth to a unity, to one uniform myth or at arriving at a decision about the relative chronology of the oldest variants preserved in the Veda. The occurrence of variants is far from surprising, and the above survey is not exhaustive. In continuation of ṚV. 10.129.1 which is quoted in full in JB. 3.360 ff. provides us with an interesting variant of the creation myth in which the motives of light (*jyotis*), austerities (*tapas*), the waters, the golden egg combine with the motives of *asat* "chaos" (ṚV. 10.129.1), the One (*ekam*: ṚV. 1.164.6; 46; 10.129.2; 3), breath (*prāṇa*), heaven and earth as shells of the egg. An abridged translation of the passage runs as follows[55]. In the *asat*—which was (a) nothing—Ṛta, *satya* and *tapas*, each of them provided with *jyotis*, floated upwards. Being voice, breath and 'mind' (*manas*), their food was light (*jyotis*). They became (the) One, which swelled through the food, viz. light. It let breath (the air) go downwards. Out of "the opening below", which is compared to a vulva, the waters discharged themselves. Then the world was water. When people say that in the beginning the world was unsteady[56] water they mean this water. The waves pushed (themselves)

[54] I am not convinced of the correctness of the view that the "Golden Germ" necessarily is a preliminary concept (Vorstufe) or prelude to the Golden Egg (thus e. g. Geldner, o. c., p. 347; L. Renou, Hymnes spéculatifs du Veda, Paris 1956, p. 252). Later texts not always reflect later ideas.

[55] For a complete German translation (and notes) see K. Hoffmann, in Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft, 27, München 1970, p. 59ff.

[56] *salilam*: I cannot, with Hoffmann, o. c., p. 65, follow P. Thieme, ZDMG. 111 (1961), p. 102ff. in translating by "saltish".

together. The (One) was pressed together so as to become a golden egg. After a hundred divine years the egg was about to burst open. It burst with the sound *phaṭ*, its lower shell becoming the earth; its higher shell, heavens and that which was between the shells, the atmosphere. The word which he —masculine: probably Prajāpati is meant—spoke when he was born became the threefold Veda, Brahman. Having produced a firm foundation, viz. these 'worlds', he proceeded to create. For that purpose he mentally contemplated himself...". See also Chānd. Upan. 3.19.1 ff.: "In the beginning this (world) was non-existent (*asat*: non differentiated, chaotic). It became *sat*. It turned into an egg. It lay for a year. It burst open. Then came out of its shell two parts, one of silver which is this earth, and one of gold, which is the sky...".

In the version preserved in Manusmṛti 1.5 ff. the universe initially consisted in the shape of darkness which was dispelled by Svayaṃbhū, "the Self-existent", who, desiring to produce beings of many kinds from his own body, first created, by the power of his mental concentration, the waters and placed his seed (*bījam*) in them. This seed became a golden egg, in brilliancy equal to the sun. In that egg he himself was born as Brahmā, the grandfather (progenitor) of the whole world. That in 10 he is also named Narāyāṇa is no more surprising than the statement contained in the older Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad, 3.4: it was Rudra who generated the primeval Hiraṇyagarbha. Another variant, Viṣṇuite in presentation, is preserved in Viṣṇu-Purāṇa 1.2.46: in the beginning space, air, light, water and earth existing individually as distinguishable and therefore unable to create living beings, combined and assumed through their mutual association the character of one mass of entire unity. Directed by the Puruṣa, and with the acquiescence of Pradhāna (unevolved nature) etc., they formed an egg. This egg, composed of the elements and resting on the waters was the abode of Viṣṇu in the form of Brahmā. Its womb was composed of the mountains and the oceans were the waters which filled its cavity...

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ICONOGRAPHY OF EVIL DEITIES FROM TIBET

During his travels to Tibet, Rahula Sankrityayana gathered information on the forms of Buddhism being practiced there. He returned with an enormous collection of books, manuscripts and paintings, all apparently carefully selected for their value in bringing more understanding of the religion and its history in Tibet. Among the portion of those documents presently housed in the library of the Bihar Research Society in Patna, I located a small set of images of the personifications of evil.[1] Since these do not, for the most part, conform to either known descriptions of such deities nor to other examples known to me, I feel that it is most worthwhile to present them to the academic community. Their non-conformity is interesting because most of the descriptions of these personifications appear in Buddhist literature where the deities are described as "protectors" (after having been converted to the religion). Thus, it may be that the present version reflects a pre-Buddhist tradition. It must be noted, however, that there is no information with the set whatsoever. Only the names of sixteen of the figures are given, and these are only generic names of whole classes of demons. Further, the first two of the series are not even named.

It is interesting that among the evil personifications represented in this series, Yi-dvags are also present. These are the *preta* of Buddhist theory and their presence seems to indicate a possible Buddhist orientation to the series. One may speculate that the Buddhist concern for the personifications of this series is that of overcoming hinderances (*bgegs*) and that these personifications are meant to aid the practitioner in visualizing his adversary. Also, there is no indication that any of the deities are of the higher levels of Buddhist deities, nor do they exhibit any of the attributes that would indicate that they were meant to aid a devotee in overcoming his various levels of attachment.

The well known conversion of the indigenous deities by the Buddhists has resulted in apparent modification of their iconographic characteristics. It may be noted that the *vāhanas* of the respective deities are lacking and that on

[1] I am indebted to Mr. S.V. Sohoni for his permission to photograph and publish the material in the Bihar Research Society collection.

comparing the images to the descriptions given in Nebesky-Wojkowitz,[2] one finds that they are generally of a different convention, in spite of the fact that they are positively identified by the presence of their names. In all but one or two cases, the images seem to be representations of the conceptual generalized form of a large category of beings, rather than specific individuals. None of the images contains a specific name, in spite of the fact that there are many specifically identified individuals in most of these classes of deities.

The format of the images is quite uniform: each figure is set off by clouds in the upper corners of the composition and placed in a valley between two hills. Each seems to exist as an individual composition as there is no bilateral symmetry to the arrangement of the figures or their positions such as is found in other Tibetan iconographic series. In fact, the images seem to have been made separately and then glued onto their present backings. Numbers one through five are on the first strip, six through nine on the second, ten to thirteen on the third and fourteen through eighteen on the last strip. This gives a five, four, four and five arrangement, which is not consistent with any Tibetan convention known to me.

Of the eighteen deities depicted, the first two are unnamed, and since the rest of the images are frequently at variance with known descriptions of the particular class of deities that they represent, I have felt it unwise to even venture a guess as to the identity of these figures. Only one observation may be made about them relative to their position in Tibetan inconographics—it is quite likely that they are among the better known groups and may, therefore, have needed no identification. My reason for making this observation is quite simple. With one exception, *dbud*, there is a distinct trend that the representations of the more popular deities are illustrated first.

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[2] By far the most extensive study of these classes of deities is Réne de Nebesky-Wojkowitz' *Oracles and Demons of Tibet* (Mouton & Co., 1956). I have placed almost complete reliance on this work for the general comments on the nature of the deities that are contained in this descriptive article. Hereafter, I refer to this work with the abbreviation O.D.T. followed by the page reference, contained within parenthetical footnotes.

Figure 1

Figure 1 (unidentified). A figure of a standing man carrying a vessel between the palms of his hands which are pressed together in front of his chest is seen in this representation. He carries arrows in the crook of his right elbow and balances a *makara*-topped victory banner (*chu-srin rgyal-mtshan*) in the crook of his left. His garments suggest the arrangement of the apparel of the *Lokapāla*, but there is no specific depiction of armor. He wears Tibetan boots and an elaborate crown, the latter apparently containing representations of three gems.

Figure 2

Figure 2 (unidentified). Strongly resembling a bodhisattva, this figure wears a *dhoti* and carries an arrow which is held with the point downwards in his right hand. The hand is in *karaṇa mudrā*, a distinctly Buddhist gesture which occurs frequently throughout the illustrations and which may be assumed to have been taken over from the Buddhists by the iconographer that developed these particular forms. The left hand exhibits *abhaya mudrā* and a flower on a stem issues from behind the left shoulder. The headdress appears to be foliate in nature.

Figure 3

Figure 3, bTsan ("Strong" or "Powerful" One). This is a large and popular class of deities in Tibet, having both beneficial and malevolent aspects. Because of the popularity of this class, there is a large, organized and fairly well known iconography for them. The illustration shows a figure in a very animated posture resembling *alīdhāsana*, but in which the left leg is turned inwards. He holds a snare in his left hand and a lance, which also rests on the ground, in his right hand. Both of these implements are specifically associated with the bTsan and there are special names for their particular types of these implements.

The more normal description of bTsan characterizes them as warriors or, at least, militaristic in nature. In Tibet, this would imply armor of some kind, but the figure in the illustration is covered only by a garment at the waist which hangs like a wind blown *dhotī* about his legs. This class of demons is the cause of "painful illnesses" and is associated with the cause of thunder, lightning and hail (O. D. T. 167). They may possess oracles and may be invoked by the use of "thread cross" ceremonies (O. D. T. 413, 493). The bTsan seem to be a kind of national protective class of demon and have been invoked in the recent past on behalf of the Tibetan cause.

Figure 4

Figure 4, rGyal-po ("Victor" or "King"). The rGyal-po seem to be another vast group of local deities of great popularity. The illustration shows a figure seated on a high-backed throne, dressed in rather elaborate robes and holding a gem in his left hand and a victory banner in the right. He wears a distinctive type of hat which characterizes deities of the rGyal-po class (O.D.T. 11). The well known Pehar is sometimes given as the leader of the class, and one of the principal concerns of the deities is being the guardians of treasure (O. D. T. 96-98). They cause a variety of ills, madness and mental disorders, may be invoked by means of a "thread cross" to commit revenge and may cause harm to those who do not sacrifice to them. They are among the converted *Dharmapāla* of the Buddhist religion, but are also a class of deities in Bön texts as well. They provide certain types of dreams, especially visions of Buddhist priests, may possess oracles and, in a negative sense, obstruct the coming of rain. Protection against them is provided by an image of a scorpion shown in the act of devouring one of them.

Figure 5

Figure 5, Ma-mo. Another class of widely known demonical forms, these goddesses are usually characterized as ugly women with long, emaciated breasts and are generally stated to be black in color (O. D. T. 6). The illustration shows a squatting figure holding a broad brimmed hat above her head and having enormously distended, drooping breasts. She has a wizened appearance, with protruding fangs and a heavily wrinkled brow. The garment in this case is tied about the shoulders and hangs down her back, while some sort of drapery, not very clearly depicted, may be seen at the waist. These demons bring diseases and are said to carry either a sack of disease (*nad-rkyal*) or to carry a disease stick (*khram-nad*) (O. D. T. 18, 380). As members of the Buddhist pantheon, they are associated with the *lha-mo* groups and occur in the retinue of several of those goddesses, in groups of four to over a million (O.D.T. 24, 32, passim). They are also well represented in the Bön pantheon, where several varieties are named.

It is curious that several other members of the deities illustrated in the pantheon may be called upon to avert the evil caused by the Ma-mo. Among those are the gNod-spyin, Theu'-rang, rGyal-po, bKdud and the bTsan (O.D.T. 526). This is the only class of demons for which this seems to occur and may indicate a greater degree of evil influence or perhaps a less certain conversion of the Ma-mo to Buddhism.

Figure 6

Figure 6, dMu/rMu ("Wild, Angry" or "Passionate"). Among the most important classes of early Tibetan gods, the group of dMu/rMu is divided into two subclassifications: the dMu-chen and the dMu-phran, both of which contain many individuals (O. D. T. 281). In literature, they seem to be known for a particular kind of armor and are associated with specific cuirass and helmet types. The illustrated figure, however, wears only a loose fitting cloth at the waist and carries a snare in the left hand and an undistinguished type of sword in the right. These demons are said to cause calamities, but I have been unable to find any clearer definition of their effects. They are known to the Bön-po and may be invoked by thread crosses.

Figure 7

Figure 7, gZa' ("Planet" or Rāhu). This is the only deity in the group for which there is a specific identification. The distinctive features of Rāhu are the eyes in the torso, iconographically to number one thousand, the raven's head and the serpent body. This figure varies from the usual iconographic description in that it has but a single head, while fuller forms usually show nine (O. D. T. 259-261)[3]. This important astronomical/astrological deity has found its way into most Buddhist pantheons in Tibet, especially that of the rNying-ma-pa in which he is one of the major protectors. Yet, as a demon, it is said that the shadow of the raven's head falling on one causes apoplexy, and he is the bearer of "*ki-kang*" (sometimes "*gi-gang*") illnesses (O. D. T. 260, 380). He also affects the weather in the form of a slow wind spreading fog and the Bön use an image of Rāhu to conjure hailstorms. It is interesting to contrast his activities against those of his Indian counterpart, who is the personification of the negative aspects of the eclipse of the moon. Rāhu is also among the deities invoked against evils in his function as a protector of the faith.

[3] For an illustration see Lokesh Chandra, *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, p. 2079.

Figure 8

Figure 8, Srin-po. The illustration is numbered six. However, it occurs in the eighth position and is the second occurrence of the number six in the series. It is, therefore, arbitrarily assumed that the original intent is that this be number eight.

The Srin-po are another vast class of hostile demons who are equated to the *rākṣasas* of India. They are generally described as being of evil intent, large in size, going about at night and normally consuming human flesh[4]. It may be noted that the Tibetan narrative of the origin of the Tibetan peoples states that humans are descended from an ape and a Srin-mo, the female of the class. They are said to live in rocks, on hills, etc. There are several classes and numerous individuals are known. The illustration is of a figure which seems to be running, carrying human limbs in his hands, presumably from a recent repast. This pre-Buddhist class of deities was subdued by Padma-sambhava during his ministry (O. D. T. 280), which may indicate their pre-Buddhist nature.

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[4] H.A. Jäschke, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*, London, 1958 (reprint), p. 582. Hereafter, I refer to this work as T.E.D. in parenthetical footnotes.

Figure 9

Figure 9, gNod-sbyin ("Giver of Harm"). Equated to the *yakṣas*[5] of India, these deities are described as black gods, holding jewels, and may be invoked for luck and prosperity. Among their other beneficial aspects is the provision of mystical fires to burn demons and the fact that they may be called upon to prevent the attacks of the Ma-mo (O. D. T. 531). Their evil characteristics are principally as providers of disease or pollution, but these may be prevented by *gto* and thread cross rites. The figure in the illustration stands in *pratyālīḍha* pose and holds a staff in his extended right hand while holding a *triratna* to his chest with the left. He is loosely draped about the waist with a cloth and a scarf billows behind him. In this particular form, he seems to be the guardian of treasures and may in fact be gNod-sbyin yak-sha-sha me-dpal ("The Giver of Harm *Yakṣa* Possessing Fire"), although the second attribute, a sword, is missing.

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[5] *gNod-sbyin* is the usual Tibetan expression used to translate *yakṣa* of Sanskrit texts (see Lokesh Chandra, T. S. D., p. 1379).

Figure 10

Figure 10, Yi-dvags(Preta). As residents of the fifth realm of *saṃsāra,* the *preta* are well known as condemned individuals who are reborn with gigantic bellies and narrow throats. It is their lot to be forever starving and to have to try to satisfy their hunger by eating human waste, which turns to flame when they attempt to consume it. The illustration conforms exactly to this concept and, therefore, it may be assumed that this image corresponds to the Indian prototype quite closely. Its place in this iconography of evil beings is confirmed by the fact that Klong-rdol bla-ma mentions Yi-dvags in an enumeration of *gdon* demons (O. D. T. 311). This is obviously a later addition to this group of harm-bearing creatures and cannot be in any way considered to be pre-Buddhist.

Figure 11

Figure 11, bDud. There are many lists of individual bDud occurring both in Bön and Buddhist literature. They are considered the protectors of the Bön teaching and are considered to be spirits of the dead who failed to find another rebirth (O. D. T. 4, 274). As Buddhist deities, they are among the converted protectors of the faith and occur in the retinue of many of the wrathful deities. Yet, there appears to be a rather elaborate iconographic scheme to this class of deities, indicating a very considerable popularity. They are principally known for causing illness as well as fits of unconsciousness. Two weapons are specifically associated with them—the snare, called the *bdud-zhags-nag-po*, and a black stick of bDud, which they use to control their enemies. The descriptions indicate that they are invariably wrathful and black in color, but generally refer to them as warriors, etc. (O. D. T. 4, 18, 273-8). In the illustration, the figure is nude and quite clearly entangled in his own snare. It must be assumed, therefore, that this is a representation of the subjugation of the bDud rather than its function as a protector of the faithful. Jäschke equates the bDud to Māra (T. E. D. 269). However, this equation does not seem to apply to the class of demons per se, and since they are very clearly pre-Buddhist deities and members of the Bön pantheon, it must be assumed that this association is somewhat artificial.[6]

[See footnote 6 on next page

Figure 12

Figure 12, Sha-za ("Flesh Eater")[7]. Jäschke (T.E.D. 555) equates this group with the Piśācīs of India. However, other references to this class of demons are lacking, with the exception that they are included among the *gdon* demons by Klong-rdol bla-ma. It is possible that these deities were so popular that it was unnecessary to offer any descriptions of them. On the other hand, it may well be that they were only little known. The illustration shows a nude figure of uncertain gender with wildly disheveled hair, holding a long strand of an undetermined nature between its hands.

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[6] In the Buddhist texts *bDud* translates Māra (see Lokesh Chandra T.S.D. p. 1203). Bdud-mo re-ma-tī=Mahākālī Rematī in the dhāraṇī-mantra in the so-called Five Hundred Gods of Narthang folio 135b (reproduced in T.S.D. 1204).

[7] Sha-za is *piśāca* in the Mahāvyutpatti 4756, and titles of the Tanjur where *sādhanas* are devoted to them (Lokesh Chandra, T.S.D. p. 2339).

Figure 13

Figure 13, Gong/'Gong-po ("Enchanter, Sorcerer, Demon of Fear or Terror"). This classification of deities is subdivided into males, females and children (O.D.T. 283-285), and is specifically said to be hostile to the rulers of Tibet. It occurs in the retinue of Pehar in his manifestation as a rGyal-po (O.D.T. 119). This curious and apparently composite classification of demons may have their evil energies averted by the use of scapegoat ceremonies. These are performed to avoid Tibetan rulers coming in contact with the danger that these deities possess. These demons seem to be little known in literature, but also have played an important role in Tibetan protective ceremonies. This suggests that there may be a body of oral, esoteric information surrounding them that has yet to come to light.

Figure 14

Figure 14, *Theu'-rang* (more specifically, Theu'-rang rkang gcig). These deities seem to play an important part in the early history of Tibet since one of the early kings is said to have been descended from them. Their activities include the stealing of life, causing disunity and quarrelling, making children ill, and causing hail and lightning (O.D.T. 283). They may be defended against by a number of rituals (see O,D.T. 499-515) and, in a beneficial sense, are among those deities called upon for protection from the Ma-mo. They are usually described as having a class or subtype that has one leg, clearly the intent of the illustration in this series. The deity is shown without other distinguishing characteristics, wearing a loosely fitting garment and having his hands folded in front of his chest. He seems to stare at the clouds in the upper portion of the composition, but this may only be an interpretation of the iconographic convention. This class of deities is still worshipped by the Bön and sNgags-pa. It may inhabit oracles and is said to have been converted by Padmasambhava (O.D.T. 283).

Figure 15

Figure 15, Gri-'dri. The meaning of the name of this classification of deity is uncertain. There seems to be an obvious reference to some sort of bladed instrument (*gri*) which the deity carries. It also carries a snare and is seen as a nude woman with emaciated, drooping breasts. No further information is available about this class of deity.

Figure 16

Figure 16, Lan-chags.[8] The little information that is available for this class of demons simply indicates that much more is to be known. They are described as armed warriors and may be invoked with thread crosses (O.D.T. 387). It is very clear from the illustration that the Lan-chags also has something to do with being a deity of merchants since he is shown with a scale of the type used for weighing metal coins. Further, he is dressed in the manner of a merchant.

[8] A treatise on the bali to Lan-chags is found in the Tanjur 3021 (Tōhoku Catalogue).

Figure 17

Figure 17, Tshun-'dri (mTshun, bTshun, Mes-btshun). These, simply enough, are the ancestral spirits of the Tibetans. They are divided into male and female and into several subgroups (O.D.T. 311). One branch of this group, the Mes-tshun, are reported by Jäschke to be the household gods of the shamans (T.E.D. 456). Nothing further is known of this group, but it may well be that this is simply a classification indicating the universal ancestral spirit cult so widespread in Asia. It is not surprising that they should be present in Tibet. On the contrary, it is to be expected, since similar ancestral deities are widespread in both China and southeast Asia among groups of the Sino-Burmese linguistic affinities.

Figure 18

Figure 18, Dri-za ("Excrement Eater")[9]. These deities are equated to the *gandharvas* (O.D.T. 298), but I am of the opinion that in this case, Nebesky-Wojkowitz is reporting information from a manuscript containing a somewhat biased view. Since these deities are known as the centers of epidemics and diseases, their activities do not seem to conform in any manner known to me with those of the *gandharvas* as they occur in Sanskrit literature. Little is known about these deities except that they are listed among the Klong-rdol bla-ma's list of *gdon* and that their evil may be averted by the *ḍākinī* rDo-rje mkha'- 'gro-ma (Vajraḍākinī) (O.D.T. 311, 389).

Conclusion. It is quite apparent from the foregoing summaries of information about these classes of deities, the specific details of their iconography itself, and the lack of information available about them, that the groups of demons lie beyond the range of most Tibetan studies that have been done outside of Tibet. One may speculate, since Sankrityayana was interested in *phur-pa* and *phur-pa* rituals as evidenced by the fact that a considerable number of objects and books relating to this are in the collection, that he may have been

[9] Dri-za is the translation of gandharva (gandha=dri 'smell'). Tanjur 2982 is a work on getting rid of gandharvas.

interested in the manifestations of evil per se, and further, that one of his teachers in Tibet provided him with this brief iconography of the Tibetan manifestations of evil. These classes of demons do not figure prominently in Buddhist literature and occur more frequently in Bön-po literature, but from the surveys gathered so far, neither body of information appears to contain anything like a true iconographic compendium of them. They are much more folk deities of a limited type upon which overriding classifications have been placed. This would explain the fact that despite several different classifications, some specific individuals cross class boundaries and occur in more than one group. The *rgyal-po*, *'gong* and the *dmu* blend together almost imperceptibly and in the legends surrounding Pehar, the Theu'-rang also become closely associated with these groups.

It may be suggested, therefore, that these reflect, not the intellectual and philosophical personifications found in the Buddhist and later development of the Bön religion, but rather the folk deities of an ancient Tibet which are only beginning to be known to the historian. These have continued in their non-literate positions among the people whom they affect the most—the populace of Tibet. It is, therefore, very unlikely that great bodies of literature detailing the activities of these animate forms will be found. Rather, it will be the work of the anthropologist and the oral historian who will have to collect the tales associated with these beings. Only then will we have a really meaningful idea of what these illustrations depict.

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STONE INSCRIPTION OF KULŪTA FROM MATHURA

In August 1968 I was fortunate in discovering the present inscription which can be assigned to the Kushan epoch paleographically. It comes from Mathura and has been cut off from its parent stone by an unexperienced person causing vandalistic harm to the inscription which had otherwise survived intact in a good state of preservation over the centuries. During this cutting off, the inscription became fragmented into seven pieces and that has impaired its readability in a number of places. On the whole, the writing is careful and clear. It is 23 cm wide and 90 cm long. The written surface measures 19×78 cm excluding the engraver's mark. It is a two-line votive inscription recording the construction of works of public well-being to propitiate Lord Maheśvara. The name of the donor is preceded by a string of genealogical genetives. On the left hand side is a symbol. It cannot be identified with any of the monograms on Kushan coins, seals and inscriptions, which have been illustrated in figure 7 on page 69 of John M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*. The possibility of its being a sculptor's mark[1] also seems to be remote. It should be a *maṅgala* symbol. We find a number of Mathura inscriptions bearing auspicious symbols. For instance, the following inscriptions have clear-cut *maṅgala* symbols in Heinrich Lüders and Klaus L. Janert, *Mathura Inscriptions*.

§39	p. 75	facsimile on p. 275 (four *maṅgala* symbols with the inscription engraved in their interstices. The *ghaṭa* resembles our symbol).
§40	p. 76	facs. on p. 276 (four *maṅgala* symbols interspersed)
§44	p. 80	facs. on p. 278 (eight „ „ „)
§108	p. 152 n. 3	facs. on p. 300 (svastika at the end)
§113	p. 154	facs. on p. 301 (svastika at the beginning)
§125	p. 165 n. 5	facs. on p. 306 (*maṅgala ghaṭa* at the end)
§161	p. 193 n. 3	facs. on p. 314 (ॐ or symbol of *oṁ* at the beginning. This symbol opens every folio of a Tibetan xylograph).

[1] For sculptor's marks see Heinrich Lüders, *Mathura Inscriptions* edited by Klaus L. Janert, Göttingen 1961, §70 p. 104 facs. p. 289, §105 p. 151 facs. on p. 299.

§181 p. 208 facs. on p. 319 (elaborately carved auspicious symbol). As the inscription is consecrated to Maheśvara, the probability is that our symbol is the auspicious *ghaṭa* which is always placed over the liṅga of Maheśvara.

The first line commences with *Gotīputrasa*. Gotīputra occurs in a number of inscriptions. According to Heinrich Lüder's List of Brāhmī Inscriptions (E. I. 10. 1912) this matronymic (*Gauptīputra*) occurs in the following inscriptions: 92, 94, 96, 156, 194, 271, 442, 663, 680, 681, 682, 687, and 1088. Nowhere do we find genealogical identity with our inscription.

The second word of the first line is *Rāhilasa*. On the original stone the rightward extension of the *-ā* sign at the top clearly warrants the reading *Rā-*. Rahila (with short *ră-*) occurs in a Prakrit inscription from Bhilsa, where the mother of Aya (ārya) Rahila is the donatrix (Heinrich Lüders, List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, no. 198).

The third word is *pautrasa*. The *-au-* is certain by its triple mātrā. So the first clause means "the grandson of Rāhila the son of Gotī". Mother's name is mentioned in all the succeeding names too.

The next name is lost in the cleaving of the stone. Nothing is sure of the first akṣara except its upper and lower horizontal lines. The next akṣara is *si* and the third is a conjunct with the vowel-sign of long *-ī* whose upper part can be a *ṣ* and the lower part *ṭh*? It was the name of the mother. The second member of the compound is *putrasa*. The name of the son follows. Its first akṣara has been irreparably damaged and only the subscript *ra* is readable. We may tentatively read it as [*p*]*rahastasa*, followed by *putrasa*.

The subsequent matronymic has also suffered the ravages of the antiquity-hunter's hammer. The first akṣara is *ku*, where the vertical extension of *u* is clear. Thus the complete compound is *Ku*[*-*]*īputrasa*.

The next word is *magakasa* where *-sa* is the genetive affix. *Magaka* is most likely a non-rhotacised form of *margakos* the legend on the Kushan Bear Seal[2], which according to John M. Rosenfield suggests Soter Megas (2) by its monogram with a circular bottom, but on the basis of the letter types it belongs to the time of Kaniṣka I. Rosenfield suggests that *margakos* may be the equivalent of the Saka title *marjhaka=gṛhapati*, i.e. chamberlain or treasurer. In the absence of contrary evidence, I am inclined to interpret our *magaka* as 'Treasurer'. The use of Bhaṇḍārī 'Treasurer' is common as a surname to this day.

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[2] John M. Rosenfield, p. 102 plate XVI. For a full discussion on *marjhaka* see Sten Konow, *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions*, p. 143, and John M. Rosenfield, p. 52.

The following word is *Kulūtasa*, in which the long *-ū* is to be noted. Here *Kulūta* is the name of the donor. It is a geographic designation in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*. Nundo Lal De[3] identifies it with Kulu in the Kangra district. But, this connotation does not apply here.

In the *second* line, the very first words have been devastatingly broken right across the middle. They are to be read *puṣkiriṇī-arama-sabhā-śilāpaṭṭā sakūpeṇe*. In *puṣkiriṇī* the first akṣara has two superscript strokes which are not the vowel-sign of long *-ī*, but their presence is inexplicable except as a carelessness of the engraver. In the second akṣara *ṣki*, the subscript *k* does not cut across the vertical line. *ri* and *ṇī* are certain, though the lower horizontal stroke of *ṇ* is damaged. *a* of *a*rama is also damaged. An inscription on the pedestal of a Nāga image from the Rāl Bhaḍār mound, dated in the 8th year of Kaniṣka[4], records the construction of a tank and a garden (*pukṣiriṇi aramo*). It is noteworthy that like our inscription, *pukṣiriṇi* has an *i* in the second akṣara and short *a* in *arama* instead of *ārāma*. These represent the spoken forms of the time. The construction of a tank and the laying out of a garden went together, as we find *puṣkariṇī* and *ārāma* occurring side by side in a number of inscriptions. *Ārāma* was a garden-cum-orchard (Vācaspatya p. 4405 says: आरामः पुष्पफलोपायहेतुर्भूभागः).

When a personage of the eminence of Treasurer (*magaka*) donated works of public utility, he had a chain of charitable structures constructed. In the slab inscription from the Jamalpur mound the treasurer (*gaṁjavara*) of *svāmin mahākṣatrapa* Śoṁḍāsa had a tank, a reservoir, a grove, a pillar and a stone-slab constructed: *puṣkaraṇi udapāno ārāmo staṁbho i(...) [śilā]paṭṭo*[5] *ca*. An inscription of the time of Vima Kadphises[6] reads: *ārāmo puṣkariṇi udapān[aṁ] ca sa[bh]ā dā[ra]koṭhako*. The fragmentary inscription on a broken slab from Mathura referring to mahākṣatrapa Ś[o](ḍāśa), commemorates the donation of a stone palace, halls and stone slabs: *pārvato prāsād[o] sabh[āh] śilāpa[ṭā]* where *sabhā* and *śilāpaṭa* occur side by side as in our inscription.

The aforesaid inscriptions commemorate the construction of *puṣkariṇī* (reservoir, tank), *udapāna* (well), *ārāma* (grove, park, garden), *stambha* (pillar, it can be a misreading for *sabhā*), śilāpaṭṭa (stone-slab?), *sabhā* (assembly hall, community hall), *dvārakoṣṭhaka* (gateway?), *pārvata prāsāda* (stone palace). These charitable acts for public good are comprehended under the generic term

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[3] Nundo Lal De, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 106.

[4] Heinrich Lüders, *ibid*, §102 p. 148.

[5] Heinrich Lüders, *ibid*, §64 p. 99.

[6] Heinrich Lüders, *ibid*, §98 p. 135.

pūrta. In Sanskrit texts *pūrta* is defined as:

पुष्करिण्यः सभा वापी देवतायतनानि च ।
आरामश्च विशेषेण पूर्तं कर्म विनिर्दिशेत् ।। इति भरतः

The Purāṇas lay great emphasis on *pūrtadharma*, and thereby stress social service as the only means to attain *mokṣa*: पूर्ते मोक्षं च विन्दति according to Varāhapurāṇa 172.33. The Purāṇa continues:

वापीकूपतडागानि देवतायतनानि च ।
पतितान्युद्धरेद्यस्तु स पूर्तफलमश्नुते ॥ (quoted from Śabdakalpadruma 3.221c). *Pūrta* seems to have comprised mainly five constituents; so we find in Bharata and in the two inscriptions quoted above. The patron of our inscription also donated five constituents of *pūrta* which shows that he must have been an influential and affluent person, a high state functionary like the Lord of the Treasury. His magnanimous donation lends support to our interpretation of his prefixed designation of *magaka* as being equivalent to *marjhaka* in the sense of 'Treasurer', or better as 'Lord of the Treasury' to emphasise his eminent status. In the Jamalpur Mound[5] and the Tokri Tila[6] inscription too, where the *pūrta* is quintuple, the donors are topmost state dignitaries. In the first inscription the patron is a *gaṁjavara* or treasurer, and in the second a *bakanapati*.

In *sakūpeṇe* the final *ṇe* is certain. It is equivalent to *sakūpena* "alongwith, together with a well" and the instrumental goes with the next clause. The use of *ṇ* instead of *n* is Prakrit pronunciation and the final *e* may have been chiselled by oversight alongwith the preceding akṣara *pe*.

The final clause is *prīyatāṁ bhaga[vāṁ Mahe]śvara*. The long *-ī* in *prī-* makes it grammatically correct Sanskrit. The final anusvāra is carefully marked by a round dot on the top. The final akṣara of *bhaga[vāṁ]* has chipped off in breaking the inscription from its parent stone.

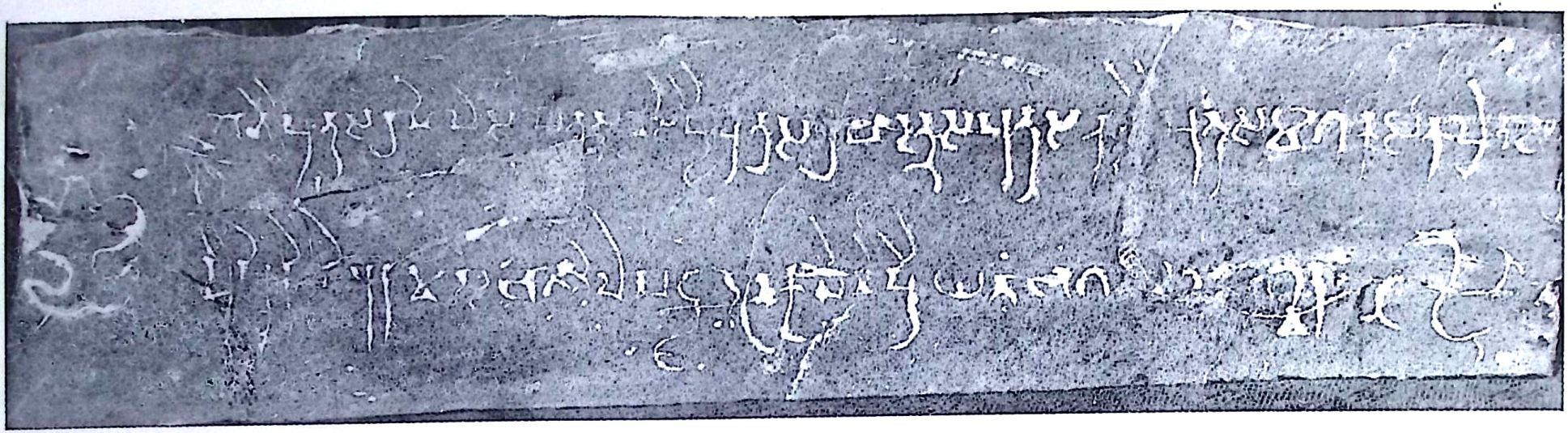
The following Mathura inscriptions[8] have a similar propitiation formula:

§15	p. 47	*Prīyatām=bhagavān=Ṛṣabhaś[r]īḥ*
§22	p. 52	*priya dev[o]*
§94	p. 126	*prīyant[ā]m=agnaya(ḥ)*
§104	p. 150	*priyatāṁ Sidha[ḥ]*
§176	p. 202	*priyatā[ṁ] bhagav[ā]*
§182	p. 209	*priyatāṁ devi grām[eṇa]*

A Mathura Inscription on a Varāha Image (JRAS. 1966, p. 8) *priyatāṁ bhagavāṁ*. The alternation of *priyatām* and *prīyatām* is noteworthy from the grammatical

[7] Heinrich Lüders, *ibid*, §178 p. 204.

[8] All the references are to Heinrich Lüders, *ibid*.



Stone Inscription of Kulūta from Mathura

point of view.

The first two letters of *[Mahe]śvara* have been lost in cutting, though remnants of their top portions peep out of the damage. The horizontal middle line of *ś* in *śva* has not been incised, a lapse of the engraver. He seems to have become careless in the second line where the depth of the incision is less, the letters are not as calligraphic as in the first line, and superfluous lines on top of *pu* and below *ṣki* in *puṣkiriṇī*, anusvāralike chisel-mark between the akṣaras *sa* and *bhā*, extra *-e* vowel-sign in *sakūpeṇa*, a slight chisel-fall over *bha* of *bhaga[vāṁ]*. It cannot be ruled out that the second line was inscribed by a person other than the engraver of the first line.

The inscription closes with a reverse *svastika* which has bipartite flourishes at the ending of all its four arms. A similar flourish can be seen on one arm of the svastika in the Mora Well Inscription.[9] Reverse svastika can be seen in a number of places, *inter alia* on Taxila coins.[10]

The complete reading of the inscription is given below:

Line 1: *Gotī-putrasa Rāhilasa pautrasa*
[Vā]si(ṣṭh)ī-putrasa [P]rahastasa putrasa
Ku[-]ī-putrasa magakasa Kulūtasa

Line 2: *puṣkiriṇī-arama-sabhā-śilāpaṭṭā sakūpeṇe*
prīyatāṁ bhaga[vāṁ Mahe]śvara 卐

It can be translated as:

"May Lord Maheśvara be pleased with the reservoir tank, park, community hall, stone slab alongwith a well [constructed for public welfare] by the Lord of the Treasury (*magaka*) Ku(-)ī putra Kulūta, the son of [Vā]si(ṣṭh)ī-putra [P]rahasta, and the grandson of Gotī-putra Rāhila.

The geneology of the donor is tabulated below:

(grandfather) Rāhila whose mother was Gotī
(father) [P]rahasta ,, ,, [Vā]si(ṣṭh)ī
(son) Kulūta ,, ,, Ku[-]ī

The language of the inscription is Prakrit from the inflectional point of view. In vocabulary, most of the words are Sanskrit. Of the three matronyms only one is preserved and that is Prakrit *Gotī* (Skt. *Gauptī*). The male proper names of the son, father and grandfather are Sanskrit? *Maheśvara* is also a Sanskrit form. The termini technici of the five *pūrta*[11] constructions are Sanskrit,

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[9] Heinrich Lüders, *ibid.* facs. on p. 301 (§113).

[10] John Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India.* A Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, repr. London 1967, introd. p. cxxxvii.

[11] P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. V part II pp. 947-950 for *pūrta*.

but two terms are in their popular spoken form of *puṣkiriṇī* (*ṣki* due to vocalic harmonisation with the subsequent vowels) and *ärämа* with the easily pronounced short *ă*. Lexically, *magaka* is a new word. The genetival ending is the Mid-Indic *-sa*. The nom. plural ending of the compound is *-paṭṭā* which is also Mid-Indic. The instr. singular in *śakūpeṇa* can be Mid-Indic. *Prīyatāṁ* is correct Classical Sanskrit: religious terms, expressions and formulae tend to remain unchanged. The nom. singular *Maheśvara* has no ending.

A. D. T. E. PERERA, COLOMBO (SRILANKA)

RORUKA THE LOST BUDDHIST KINGDOM WAS NOT MOHENJODARO

In the year 1961 the late Dr. Senarat Paranavitana presented a paper at the Asian Historical Congress held in New Delhi, wherein he suggested the possibility of locating the lost Buddhist kingdom Roruka at Mohenjodaro, the pre-historic Indus Valley site.[1]

Among the writings of various scholars on historical and pre-historical subjects, those of the late Dr. Senarat Paranavitana aroused the interest of the present writer to such an extent, that he was compelled to read and re-read many of the scholarly papers contributed to various literary publications by this great savant of the century,

However his writings were not without blemishes. There were also few occasions on which certain theories proposed by the great scholar on historical and archaeological topics were confusing and far-fetched, that the present writer had agreed to disagree with him. His paper on Roruka too, we deem is one such instance for us to disagree.[2]

Roruka was a kingdom that existed beyond India, during the time of the Buddha and had established cultural relations with the Buddhist kingdoms in Middle India. According to the Mahāyāna Buddhist text *Divyāvadāna*, the king of Roruka was Rudrāyaṇa. He had established relations with Bimbisāra the king of Magadha. The two kings were fond of exchanging gifts. Once king Bimbisāra on the advice of the Buddha himself, caused the image of the Buddha to be painted on a textile scroll and had it sent to king Rudrāyaṇa

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[1] S. Paranavitana, *Roruka, was it Mohenjodaro?* paper presented to the Asian History Congress held in December 1961, at New Delhi.

[2] See, A.D.T.E. Perera, the identification of a remarkable sculpture at Isurumuniya, man and a horse's head, *East and West*, vol. 20 for 1970, pp. 122-143; Id. The Buddha enthroned on the sacred Peak Kailāsa, *The Buddhist*, vol. xliii, no. 2-5, for 1972, pp. 132-135; Id. The lineage of Elara, *The Vidyodaya Journal of Arts, Science and Letters*, vol. 3, pt. 2 for 1970, pp. 124ff; Id. Upulvan the patron god of the Sinhalese, *The Vidyodaya Journal of Arts, Science and Letters*, vol. 4 for 1971, pp. 88-44f. All these four papers are contradictions of the Agni-Parjanya theory, the Bhavacakra theory, the Dameḍa theory and the Varuṇa theory, respectively, proposed by Dr. S. Paranavitana.

along with Buddhist scriptures written on sheets of gold. This resulted in king Rudrāyaṇa becoming a Buddhist. Having adopted the new faith, Rudrāyaṇa made further requests to the Magadha ruler to send a Buddhist missionary for the propagation of the doctrine. Accordingly the elder Mahā-kaccāyana was sent to Roruka, who made many converts including the members of the royal family.

King Rudrāyaṇa had at a later stage given up his throne in favour of his son Śikhaṇḍī, went to Rājagṛha and himself became a Buddhist monk. Meanwhile Śikhaṇḍī on the advice of wicked men had sacked his father's two faithful ministers named Hiru and Bhiru and had begun a rule of terror in Roruka. He also put to death his monk father who returned to Roruka to advice and correct the son, thinking that Rudrāyaṇa had come back to seize power. All the Buddhist monks and nuns fled Roruka in terror, but the thera Mahākaccāyana decided to stay behind. One day Śikhaṇḍī parading the streets with his royal retinue saw the thera approaching the same way. He lost his temper at the sight of the thera and ordered his men to throw a hand-ful of sand each at Mahākaccāyana in order to bury him alive. The great thera through his psychic powers escaped death but had foreseen that the gods would retaliate on the king of Roruka and his followers. He thus informed the two good ministers Hiru and Bhiru of the impending danger and advised them to leave the country and escape the calamity.

On a certain day a heavy wind blew across the kingdom cleansing its streets of dust and debris. The next day it rained flowers at Roruka. On the third day heavenly garlands fell from the sky, on the fourth day it rained silver, the fifth day gold, the sixth day there was a shower of precious gems. People gathered at the royal city to collect wealth that had fallen from the sky with due praise to their monarch. But on the seventh day the unexpected happened, there was a great sandstorm (*pāṅsuvarṣā*) that heaped over everything animate and inanimate, without keeping any trace of Roruka. Thus ended the kingdom of Rudrāyaṇa. Hiru and Bhiru, however, escaped from the calamity through a tunnel that led them out of the country.

The thera Mahākaccāyana took with him Śyāmaka, the son of Bhiru and left Roruka. On the way, Śyāmaka founded a city by his name and ruled there afterwards. The thera Mahākaccāyana returned to Sindhu (Indus) region via Vokkāna, where he met his mother. This in short is the history, supposed to be a legendery myth, of the Buddhist kingdom of Rudrāyaṇa, recorded in the

Mahāyāna text *Divyāvadāna*.[3]

We have stated above that Dr. Senarat Paranavitana's attempt to identify Roruka with the sand buried ruins of Mohenjodaro is very hypothetical and not convincing enough.

An analysis of the above legend given in the *Divyāvadāna* shows that Roruka is a kingdom apart from the Sindhu (Indus) country and the great thera had reached Sindhu (Indus) on his return journey from Roruka via Vokkāna. Thus it could be surmised that the region where once existed the Buddhist kingdom Roruka, could probably be a place further north of Sindhu. If "Vokkāna could be identified with the Afghan territory (Avakana, Vakana, Vakan in early Indian dialects and O-po-ki-van in Chinese) in the former north-western frontier regions of India, it would further negate the theory that Roruka is in the Indus-Valley pre-historic site of Mohenjodaro.[4]

According to texts, the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira,[5] the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* of Rājaśekara,[6] Vokkāna is a place on the west of middle India and lying on the great Northern Highway, the eponymous *Uttarāpatha* of literary fame. This too indicates, that a person to come to north-western India on his way to Sindhu (Indus region) he should have travelled from a place beyond north-western India. Thus on the above analysis Roruka could be placed anywhere further north of the present Afghan (Avakan) territory.

According to the Pāli text, the *Petavatthu Commentary*,[7] there was a great desert associated with the city of Roruka, which cause much hardship to those who went on trade. The *Petavatthu* story further confirms that Roruka was lying on the *Uttarāpatha*. It is explicit that even on geographical analysis, the identification of Roruka with Mohenjodaro seems untenable.

On the other hand, almost all the scholars who have studied the finds at the Indus Valley sites including Mohenjodaro, had dated them several millennia before Christ, whereas according to textual references, Roruka had existed up to the fifth century B.C. or even thereafter. No artifact or any other find at Mohenjodaro shows any cultural relationship with Buddhism. There is no relationship at all to any Indian cultural remains of the first few cen-

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[3] *The Divyāvadāna*, ed. P.L. Vaidya, Mithila Institute, Darbhanga, 1959, ch. 37, pp. 465ff.

[4] *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, ed. K.A. Ramasvami Sastri Siromani, Baroda, 1934, p. 57, p. 309; *Epigraphia Indica* II.60.

[5] *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* 15.28.

[6] *Kāvyamīmāmsā*, op. cit. p. 57.

[7] *Petavatthu Aṭṭhakathā*, Simon Hewavitarana Bequest, Colombo 1917, p. 82f.

turies of the Christian era at Mohenjodaro, Harappa, Chunhe-daro or any other Indus-Valley site.[8]

Hence it could be safely said that Roruka or the lost Buddhist Kingdom of Rudrāyaṇa could not be linked with the pre-historic cultural centres in the Indus Valley. Recent investigations have proved that the traditional Uttarāpatha of the early Indian texts is the Great Northern Highway which formed the silk-route between China and the West via deserts like the Gobi and the Taklamakan in Central Asia. Hence it would be more reasonable to locate the lost Roruka kingdom in one of the recently discovered sites on the silk-route that span north-western India with Central Asia and China. The discoveries of innumerable sand buried ruins of Buddhist kingdoms of early Christian and late pre-Christian centuries on Central Asian tracks, tempted us to make a search for the lost Roruka in this particular region.

Our attempts were not in vain as beforelong much evidence gathered to convince us that our search was in the correct course.

The Rawak Vihāra site within the ancient Buddhist kinkdom of Khotan which forms part of the Great Trade Route from Bactria to Tun-huang provided material for us to select it as the site befitting identification with Roruka. The remains discovered at Rawak Vihāra site were (unlike most of the Buddhist sites in Central Asia that succumbed to the ravages of enemy invasions) lying intact buried under the desert sand for centuries, when the spade of the archaeologist unearthed them.

According to those who executed excavations at the Rawak site there was no evidence to prove that Rawak was abandoned after an invasion by an enemy (incidentally Mohenjodaro shows evidence of ruthless destruction by an invading army). On numismatic evidence the vihāra at Rawak could be dated as far back as the first century A.D. There were no signs of intended destruction in those remains, which show a sudden desertion centuries before the Muslim conquests.[9] Rawak ruins also speak of a great Buddhist art tradition centered round the portrayal of the Buddha in true human form unlike in Central India where the Buddha was originally represented in art only through symbolic means.

The painting of the Buddha figure in textile scrolls is also quite common

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[8] E. Mackay, *Early Indus Civilization*, London 1948; Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, London 1931; S. Piggot, *Pre-historic India*, London, 1950; K.N. Puri, *Lā Civilization de Mohenjodaro*, Paris 1938; Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization*, Cambridge, 1953.

[9] See *The Encyclopaedia of World Art*, McGraw Hill edition, Rome 1959, Vol. I, p. 829.

in the Central Asian region.[10] According to the legendary story of Roruka, Rudrāyaṇa the Roruka monarch was pleased when he saw the painting of the Buddha figure on a textile scroll. At Qyzyl, another Buddhist site on the Central Asian track north of Rawak, a painting has been discovered which relates how textile scrolls have been used in the painting of the Buddha story.[11] This particular painting also shows that the tradition of the Buddha figure sent in a painted scroll to Roruka was kept alive in most of the Buddhist sites in Central Asia.

The present name of this Khotanese site Rawak could also be equated with the name Roruka on etymological grounds. In this context we could cite the reference to Roruka as Roruva in early Buddhist texts.[12] The Rawak site is bounded on the east by the great stretch of the Taklamakan desert. This again corroborates the early textual references (given above) of merchants facing hardships at deserts on their journey to and from Roruka. On the other hand an identification of Roruka with Mohenjodaro deprives of the location of an impassable desert barrier within the sight of Roruka.

The above factors would be sufficient to identify the present site Rawak with Roruka, the lost kingdom of Rudrāyaṇa. Our identification of this Khotanese site with Roruka could further be strengthened by the account of the famous Chinese itinerant monk Hsüan-tsang, who in the 7th century A.D. travelled through Central Asia keeping a vivid account of the cultural history of the various sites he had visited.

In his account of the Khotan oasis, Hsüan-tsang refers to an ancient city known as Hi-lo-lo-kia to the north of Khotan city.[13] S. Beal has attempted to transliterate, the name given by the Chinese as Ragha or Raghan or perhaps Ourgha in Sanskrit.[14] On the analysis of S. Beal's transliteration one could also strike an analogy between Hi-lo-lo-kia and Roruka or Rawak.

Further corroboration of our identification is made available in the very history of Hi-lo-lo-kia as recorded in the account of Hsüan-tsang, who like a modern Gordon Frazer had thought it correct to give credence to traditions

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[10] D. Seckel, *Art of Buddhism*, Methuen, London, 1964, p.205, p.229, figs. 64, 73.

[11] D. Seckel, *op. cit.* p. 268, fig. 64; *The Way of the Buddha*, Govt. of India publication, 1950, p. 114, fig. 73.

[12] *The Dīgha Nikāya*, vol. ii, P.T.S. London 1947, p. 235 note 13. The interchange of *va*, *ka* and even *ya* is a common feature in early Indian Prakrits, e.g. Prākāra—Pavura; Bhallika—Bhalliya; Nāvika—Näviya.

[13] S. Beal, *Si-yu-ki, Chinese Accounts of India*, Calcutta, 1958, vol. iv, p. 498.

[14] S. Beal, *op. cit*, p. 498, n. 69.

that are deep-rooted in a human community. He refers to a great desert stretching as far as three hundred li to the east of the Khotan city. The town Hi-lo-lo-kia is placed to the north of the Khotan city. The present Rawak Vihāra site too is found exactly to the north of the Khotan city on the other side of the Khotan river.[15]

According to Hsüan-tsang an image of the Buddha is said to have arrived at Hi-lo-lo-kia from Pimo, another vihāra in the kingdom of Khotan. But the people of Hi-lo-lo-kia did not pay respect to the Buddha image. An arahant (a Buddhist elder) who alone thought it proper to worship the Buddha image caught the wrath of the ruler of Hi-lo-lo-kia who ordered his men to bury alive the monk by covering him with sand and earth. Of all the inhabitants of Hi-lo-lo-kia only one person treated the arahant with kindness and offered him food while the thera was being buried alive. The arahant foretold this man that after seven days of his death, the city will be covered with sand falling from the sky as a consequence of the crime meted out to him and advised the man his way to escape.

"The man, entering the city told the tidings to his relatives but they did nothing but mocking at him. The second day a great wind suddenly arose which carried before it all the dirty soil whilst there fell various precious substances. Then the men continued to revile the man who had told them about the sand and earth ... ... On the seventh day ... ... it rained sand and earth and filled the city. The man escaped through a tunnel and took his abode in Pima".

"The town of Hi-lo-lo-kia is now a great sand mound. The kings of the neighbouring countries and persons in power from distant spots have many times wished to excavate the mound and take away the precious things buried there; but as soon as they arrived at the borders of the place, a furious wind has sprung up, dark clouds have gathered together from the four quarters of heaven, and they have become lost to find their way".[16]

By considering the tradition preserved at Hi-lo-lo-kia of the sandstorm (*pāṁsuvarṣā*) that submerged the entire city, and its bearing on the *Divyāvadāna* story of Rudrāyaṇa's Roruka, although differing in detail, one could easily surmise that Hi-lo-l-kia was none other than Roruka. This identification is further substantiated by other evidence drawn from archaeology, literature, art, geography and history as adduced above in this paper.

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[15] *Ibid.*

[16] S. Beal, *op. cit*, pp. 498ff.

Traditions, however, die hard. Hence one cannot easily dismiss the tradition of the Hi-lo-lo-kia's past. Hsüan-tsang, whose narrative has proved to be faithful to the available documentation of historical facts, too, had not ignored traditions as found among the local populace wherever he visited. We are indebted to Hsüan-tsang's ingenuity in preserving in his records at least fractions of these supposed mythical and legendary traditions. The far-seeing Chinese bhikkhu has preserved for posterity a lost record of a sand-buried Buddhist kingdom, which came down in the form of a myth.

According to archaeologists, the Rawak vihāra site which yields examples of the earliest phase of Buddhist art in Central Asia, was untouched by any pillager or invading army. This factor reminded us of the legend associated with Roruka, according to which Roruka was buried for ever by a divine agency which had caused sudden gusts of sandstorms from the heavens. We are however, inclined to take this reference of a heavenly downpour of sand and earth as a geographical phenomenon, common to any oasis, caused by a sudden climatic change resulting a tornado of sand and dust from the neighbouring desert (Taklamakan in the present context), thus burying the once beautiful Buddhist edifices erected by Rudrāyaṇa, totally under sand dunes.

Our identification of Roruka of Rudrāyaṇa with the present day Rawak vihāra site at Khotan and the seventh century Hi-lo-lo-kia of Hsüan-tsang, allows no way of accepting any hypothetical view to trace Roruka in the Indus Valley site Mohenjodaro, which according to the scientific analysis of archaeologists was a dead city several centuries, if not millennia, before the Christian era.

ACADEMICIAN Y. RINCHEN, ULANBATOR (MONGOLIA)

SANSKRIT IN MONGOLIA

Ekaṃ hi saccam, na dutiyam atthi.
The Truth is one, there is not a second.
Suttanipāta

Through the centuries Sanskrit was one of the two classical languages of Old Mongolia, the other being Tibetan. With a great literature of Indian origin, translated into Mongolian during the ages of existence of their National Script, beautiful, simple and very scientifically elaborated by unknown Mongol philologists of the past, Sanskrit accomplished a spiritual connection among Mongols dispersed on the vast extent of the Old World but having the good luck to possess a unique jewel of their illuminated Ancestors, the Mongol National Script, which ensured continuity of the best traditions of Literary Mongolian, enriched and beautified by generations of enlightened scholars and learned translators, eminent writers and brilliant poets, Sublime Masters of the Word.

But when did the Mongols come into contact with the high spiritual culture of ancient India and Sanskrit, its classical language, equal for many Asian peoples to an old and lofty culture of the Greeks, the classical language of Europeans? And which people of antiquity were mediators between Mongols and India, if they really existed in the past?

Ancient Mongols had very wide relations with many peoples of the Old World. The present-day Mongol classical written and spoken languages and very rich Mongol folklore show us those old cultural ties connecting Mongols to them. For example, many old Greek words have remained up to day in Mongolian and such nouns as *nomos* and *byssos* having in written and spoken Mongolian the forms *nom* and *bös* testify that the masculine endings of the old Greek substantives were quite conscientiously rejected in Old Mongolian.

Mongol folklore keeps up to day in the memory of people some episodes of Homer's Odyssey and the myths about a great celestial Hunter remembering to us the spiritual culture of ancient Greece. Even today Mongols see on the winter night's sky in the constellation known to Europeans under the name of Orion the heavenly Hunter of ancient Greeks, a celestial Hunter of old Mongol myths, chasing three female deer with his hounds Asar and Basar.

Is it only a simple coincidence? I think, those old Mongol myths and legends are a striking illustration of the ancient cultural relations between Mongols and Greeks.

Mongol epic songs mention Tokhar, name of an extinct (in 8th century A.D.) Indo-European people of old Buddhist culture notified only by some ancient Greek and Latin authors. Now, thanks to Western philologists nearly all the remnants of a Tokharian literature, voluminous in ancient times, have been deciphered and we can state that the oldest Mongol loan-words from Sanskrit retain the peculiarities of Tokharian.

I am sure, that more detailed comparison of Sanskrit terminology in Tokharian with the same in Written Mongolian shall give us new facts for the study of history of Mongolian culture so little known to the general public.

Before the mournful events of 1937 followed by the annihilation on a mass scale of monuments of old culture, monastic and private libraries and subsequent inculcation of the Cyrillic, the old manuscripts in Tibetan and Mongolian and an oral tradition of the elder generation of Mongol intellectuals which still amplified the facts and data given by written sources, were holding a lot of very interesting records on the Tokharians and Uigurs and their relations with the Mongols. The written and oral traditions narrated further the activity of ancient Mongol Buddhist monks who—among the Mongol tribes professing at that time their old religion, Cult of Ancestors, known to Europeans under the name of Shamanism — had translated Buddhist Scriptures from Tokharian and Uigurian and had studied Sanskrit.

Widely-read old Mongolian historians of Buddhism in Mongolia mentioned in their works written in Classical Tibetan and Mongolian about the translations of Buddhist sūtras from Sanskrit into Tokharian and Uigurian. They related occasions when the sublime Uigur Brothers-in-Dharma helped Mongol scholars to translate Sūtras into Mongolian owing to the proximity of structure of Uigurian and Mongolian.

The old Mongol authors noted furthermore, the translations of Buddhist Sūtras into Mongolian from earlier Chinese translations, at a time when some important works had not been translated into Uigurian or Tibetan.

The ancient Mongols well knew the ideographic characters of their Southern neighbours and the principles of their ideograms. An ideographic script of the Eastern Mongols known under their tribal name of Kitans which still exist among the Eastern provinces of the People's Republic of Mongolia, testifies that long before the tenth century there were brilliant sinologists and philologists among the Mongols. The Kitan ideograms created very cleverly

and ingeniously by savant Kitans had the intention to defend their national language from sinification and were quite unreadable to the Chinese.

Kitan ideograms give us a very fascinating example of the inventive application of the principles of monosyllabic Chinese to the polysyllabic and agglutinative language of Mongolo-Kitans absolutely different from the Chinese. The Kitans had furthermore the Buddhist Scriptures translated from the languages of their neighbours and the Kitan scholars were well versed in Chinese, Uigur, Tibetan, Korean and other languages of importance of that time. A knowledge of the Chinese ideograms gave them a good chance to understand the literature of all peoples of Far East using them.

A careful study of cultural relations between Kitans and Uigurs and a future decipherment of the Kitan ideograms now almost unknown to Mongolists promises to open new and precious pages not only of the history of Mongol culture but also of the spread of Indian spiritual culture in the Far East.

On the basis of translations of Sanskrit literature into Mongolian through Uigur, Chinese, Tibetan etc. was created and during the centuries enriched and perfected by the efforts of enlightened authors and savants the Mongol Church Language known among the Mongols under the name of *Mongγol Sudur-un Kelen* 'Mongol Sūtra Language' in which an enormous Buddhist literature exists. The Mongol Sūtra Language consists of *Nom Sudur-un Kelen* 'Written Sūtra Language' and *Aman Sudur-un Kelen* 'Oral Sūtra Language' which differs very slightly only by different pronunciation of the written forms in diverse dialects of Mongolian and by some amendments of the terminology of the Written Sūtra language by oral teaching of generations of Gurus communicated also by oral tradition and not fixed in the dictionaries and written works.

Oral Sūtra Language was used in the monastic schools in Northern Mongolia upto 1937 and in South Mongolia before the so-called cultural revolution of Maoists. Teacher or Preacher habitually read a text in Sanskrit or Tibetan and gave to his learners or listeners an oral interpretation of the sentence or citation in the classical language.

In the light of the evidence of Mongol written and oral traditions and being acquainted with the facts that the Tokharians with whom the Mongols had political and cultural relations disappeared in the 8th century and the Uigurs were smashed by Kirgiz in the 9th century (840 A.D.) a true historian of Mongol culture shall begin a history of the Mongol National Script not late in the eighth century, when during the epoch of flourishing of Uigur power and culture the Western Mongols adapted an Uigur alphabet for the translation of Buddhist literature in their language.

The well-educated Mongol Buddhist monks having a good knowledge of Tokharian, Uigurian and of philological works in Sanskrit well known at that epoch to Tokharians and Uigurs created the Mongol National Script. Very possible, they had also a knowledge of the old Runic alphabet of Orkhon Turks: we have an old Turk Runic text of the epitaph on the tomb of a Turk warrior mentioning the name of his Mongol adversary *Gür Čuluγun* and a brief inscription of the 13th century in Runic script apprising the name of Chingis Khan. Those texts indicate the existence of the Turk Runic script even at the epoch of Chingis Khan and about the old relations between Turks and Mongols all along the use of Orkhon Turk Runic script in the steppes of Mongolia.

Presumably an old Turk Runic script with its simple and elegant characters very wisely adjusted to the phonetic system of ancient Turkic helped the creators of the Mongol National Script to apply with remarkable skill the characters of Uigur script to the phonetic system of Mongolian and elaborate, thanks to Sanskrit philological works, very scientific principles of Mongol orthography.

The graphic system of the Mongol National Script is exceptionally well adapted to the features of Mongol language and very harmoniously coordinated with the phonetic divergences of the different dialects of Mongol language. Three principles of orthography of the Mongol National Script—phonetic for the monosyllabic roots, nouns and verbs, morphological for all polysyllabic and derivate nouns and verbs; traditional for the loan-words from the languages of the civilised nations having a phonetical system of script—these three principles are so well regulated one with the other and scientifically so well grounded, that in comparison with them to-day's monstrously raw Cyrillic "orthography" torturing the language of the press and of the younger generation by contradictions and incongruousness of its forced rules, emphasises before the eyes of an honest-minded philologist the rank ignorance of its select author and arouses sentiments of humiliation and pity.

Some Mongolists interpreting a brief mention of a Mongol chronicle about the employment of one of their war-prisoners by the Mongols, are inclined to put down the beginning of the Mongol script only to the 13th century as a result of the teaching activity of an Uigur dignitary Tatatunga, a chief of the chancery of the Naiman ruler Dayan khan and a war-prisoner of Chingis Khan. According to their very old tradition the Mongols of the thirteenth century habitually used war-prisoners according to their ability and profession. Apart from written sources Mongol oral tradition and epic songs retained very interesting details about the use of war-prisoners by ancient

Mongols.

Old shamanist myths narrate about scribes of the chancery of Erlik khan or Yamarāja of ancient Mongols, registering the birth and death of all beings. Only in the mythology of a people with a long and ancient written tradition was it possible to have such an idea about the use of script in the Kingdom of Souls.

Mongol oral traditions narrated that in the old metropolis of Karakorum still known from the epoch of Uigurs and later in Daidu the Great Capital of Mongol Yüan Emperors—Mongol scholars had an occasion to meet Uigur, Kitan, Jurchen, Chinese, Tibetan, Nepalese, Indian and other savants and sometimes translated their writings from Mongolian into Sanskrit to refer to their savant colleagues in a classical language common to all of them.

At that time all the important works on Sanskrit philology were translated into classical Tibetan and Mongol scholars studied them on the basis of those translations and oral interpretations of their Gurus.

During the epoch of Great Mongol Empire a honorific title Gūsi, borrowed from the Chinese Guo shi 'Master of State' appeared in Mongolian and was used for the well-educated scholars, who had mastered two classical languages of Mongols: Sanskrit and Tibetan. Later, an epithet *Tal-a ayalyutu* 'Two-sounds-possessor', i. e. 'Possessor of sounds of Sanskrit and Tibetan tongues' was added to Gūsi.

After the fall of the Mongol Yüan Dynasty in China followed by a furious annihilation of Mongol palaces and temples with their treasures of art and literature, private and official archives in the capital and provinces of China, only in the outlying regions of Mongolia remained some survivals of the high culture of Past, unknown to foreign Mongolists. But after the storm of annihilation and in spite of all those irretrievable losses it is still possible to retrace the development of Sanskrit studies in Mongolia and name the Gūsis from the time of the Mongol Empire up to 1937 when the old traditions were interrupted.

I give here only an incomplete list of names which shows that a fall of the Mongol Yüan dynasty in China could not annihilate all the cultural heritage of Mongols and a study of Sanskrit in Mongolia was not broken. Mongol classical philology, particularly the studies of Tibetan, advanced ever more and down to 1937 the Mongols were the best Tibetologists of the world.

The sudden interruption of official and administrative relations between the Mongol Yüan Empire and the lands and peoples of Indian cultural circles could cut neither the centuries-old traditions of Mongol Buddhist Culture

begun from the time of Tokhars nor the old and well-trodden ways of Mongol scholars through China and Southern parts of Turkistan (now Chinese Sinkiang) to Tibet, Nepal and India.

Mongol Buddhist art of Indian origin—painting, sculpture, architecture and all the branches of Indian sciences represented in the Mongol Tanjur—continued to spread more widely and to flower evermore.

Among the Sanskritists of the thirteenth century there were savant Uigur and Tibetan scholars well known among the Mongols as eminent persons in the history of Mongol culture:

Sa-skya paṇḍita Kun-dga' rgyal-mchan, Tibetan by origin, Sanskritist and author of works on Mongolian, well known as translator into Mongolian;

'Phags-pa bla-ma Ārya Matidhvaja Śrībhadra, Tibetan by origin, Teacher of the Mongol Emperor Kubilai the Wise and author of the Quadratic script of the Mongol Empire.

Emperor Kubilai commissioned Phags-pa bla-ma to create that alphabet proclaimed as the New State Script of the Mongol Yüan Empire for use among all nationalities of the Mongol Empire in official correspondence and publications. Chinese in Mongol state service were strictly obliged to study the New State Script and censorship permitted to reprint only officially licenced works of old Chinese classical authors in new transcription in Quadratic script. Old Chinese scholars, referring to the classical texts of ancient Confucian authors on the illegality of the power of barbarian usurpers, always refused to recognise the lawfulness of the Mongol rulers in China and by their behavior induced the Emperor to make an attempt to interrupt the old traditions of Confucian authors and Chinese ideograms by introducing in China universal compulsory education in the New State Script. A very strict censorship permitted to print only those books and works of Chinese which were transcribed into the New State Script. It is interesting that nowadays the compulsory Cyrillic script in Mongolia also was named a New Script and its introduction was followed by annihilating monastic and private libraries and type-machines with Mongol letters.

Kubilai the Wise thought that the introduction of the New State Script would put an end to the existence of Chinese ideographic script and interrupt an influence of the Chinese literary traditions.

Disuse of the New State Script was immediately connected with the collapse of the Mongol Yüan Empire in China in 1368. But in Mongolia the Pakspa script, i.e. the New State Script of Kubilai, was still studied in special schools of scribes in all the important monasteries until 1937. In these monastic

schools teachers specialized in the art of calligraphy, trained pupils in Mongol, Pakspa, Tibetan and ancient Indian Lancha script used for manuscripts and xylography in monastic printing works.

From the fourteenth century we can mention, for example, the names of an Uigur paṇḍita Čhos-kyi od-zer, versed in Uigurian, Mongolian, Tibetan and Sanskrit, an author of grammatical works in Mongolian and a skillful translator, who mastered the Mongol Sūtra Language. He translated through Tibetan a well known among the Mongols and Tibetans medical work of ancient Indian origin *Em-ün dörben ündüsün* 'Amṛtahṛdaya in four parts'. The translator used also the Sanskrit text.

Čhos-kyi od-zer's contemporary scholar Tarniči toyin Sonomgara, Mongol by origin, an author and translator, specialised in Tantric knowledge, and was also well versed in Sanskrit.

Among the translators and revisers of translations into Mongolian we find in that century the name of Sanskritist Śes-rab seṅ-ge who enriched Mongol Buddhist literature by many important translations from Tibetan revised with the help of Sanskrit originals.

Among the 'Two-Sounds Possessors' of that century the future historian of Mongol culture will find many talented translators of works later at the epoch of Ligdan khan (1604-1634) included in the Mongol Kanjur. All these translators were Sanskritists and used Sanskrit originals to enrich Mongol scientific terminology in Written Sūtra Language and I hope that enlightened Mongol savants of the future will make good use of that great heritage of their ancestors with the help of Indian and world Sanskritists who have now studied and found correspondences between Sanskrit and European scientific terminology.

Among the Western Mongols also were many scholars versed in Sanskrit and Tibetan. We can mention at least two learned Gūsis of the 15th century Kamalaśrī and Byams-čhen of Oirat-Mongols.

In the family library of the last Durbet ex-ruler Čoros Tegüs Dalai khan at his residence in Ulankom in 1928 were some very old manuscripts of gnomic works of those Gurus and their translations of prayers to the terrible gods of Tantric Buddhism to gain victory over enemies, very characteristic for the epoch after the fall of the Yüan dynasty when armed conflicts between Mongols and Chinese Ming emperors pretending to dominate over Mongolia and frequent razzias of the warlike Mongol seigneurs were a common occurrence in the steppes North of the Great Chinese Wall.

The works of the above-mentioned Gūsis and their translations into

Mongolian had made the colophons very interesting for historians of Mongol literature. They have given the names of Oirat nobles Togon and Esen taishis who had been requesting them to write or translate the books in question, the names of scribes, the beginning and finishing of the work, happy events and good omens as a victory over the troops of the 'Black Chinese', a termination of a Scripture written with the inks prepared from nine jewels, a peace between two Mongol seigneurs, cessation of a drought, etc.

My old friend and book-lover Purbujab from the Bulgan sumun of the Kobdo aimak of the People's Republic of Mongolia who had had an admission to the hereditary library of the khan of Karashar Torguts in the Chinese province of Sin-kiang told me that in the khan's library among the manuscripts in Mongol National Script and in Oirat characters were also old manuscripts of the works and translations of those Oirat Gūsis.

During the events connected with the collapse of Manchu Ching dynasty in China Purbujab was the caravaneer of the Karashar Torgut khan and was forced to bury a part of wooden boxes with the manuscripts of the Khan's library in a dry gully near the boundary of Mongolia and Sin-kiang to have the possibility to lighten the packs of camels and save the goods of the Khan from the approaching Chinese troops. The old caravaneer told me in 1959 that the buried manuscripts were still undiscovered and that he was the only surviver of the caravaneers of Karashar Torgut khan remembering the place where the manuscripts were hidden.

Amidst the Gūsis of the 16th century we know many brilliant scholars versed in both the classical languages of Mongols, the excellent connoisseurs of philology, philosophy, astronomy, medicine and arts of Indian origin, whose oral teaching and preaching developed the Oral Sūtra Language and the written works and numerous translations enriched the Written Sūtra Language.

Fulfilling a task given by the last great khan of Mongols Ligdan the Blessed to accomplish the Mongol Kanjur scholars of his time finished the translation of the Kanjur only in one year and the best calligraphers prepared for the library of Ligdan the Blessed a copy of that great Canon written with inks made from the nine precious minerals: gold, silver, turquoise etc. That chef-d'oeuvre of Mongol calligraphy decorated with illustrations made by Mongol miniaturists perished in the war with Manchu conquerors, but many copies of Ligdan khan's Mongol Kanjur were conserved in the monastic and family libraries in North and South Mongolia until the events of 1937 and the so-called cultural revolution of Maoists.

It is a great pleasure for me to mention here with the deepest feelings of gratitude and respect the name of Siregetü Gūsi čorji, an enlightened savant of the 16th century and Sanskritist, whom his contemporaries gave the honorific nickname *Ögülekü-yin Arslan* 'a Lion of Speech'. His wonderful translations of the legends of Maudgalyāyana, a Mongolian Divina Comedia, illustrated by Mongol miniaturists, Ten Thousand Songs of the great Tibetan poet Milaraspa and his exciting biography in Written Sūtra Language had brought a high aesthetic enjoyment to many generations of Mongol readers. It was said in the days of my youth that in Northern Mongolia there was not any campment without a manuscript or block-printed book on Maudgalyāyana or Milaraspa. The Damamuka-nāma-sūtra translated from Tibetan into Mongolian by that Siregetü Gūsi čorji of Köke qota was also one of the very popular reading books among Mongols. And proverbs show the love of people for those works of literature popularized by Gūsi čorji:

Mongγol ayil
Every Mongol camping
Üile-yin ür-e mededeg kümün
One who knows Karma
Mig jem-tei kümün
One who adores Tsoṅkhapa
Buyan-tai kümün
Man of virtue has
'Molon toyin-tai.
Ever keep Maudgalyāyana.
Üliger-ün dalai-tai.
Has Damamūka-nāma-sūtra.
Mila-yin namtar-tai
Has a biography of Milaraspa.
Bum daγulal-tai.
Ten Thousand Songs [of Milaraspa].

At the time of Siregetü Gūsi there were in Mongolia also laymen versed in both the classical languages of Mongols and in Chinese too. We shall notify here Dayičing kiy-a, well versed in Mongolian, Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese, a fellow-fighter of the nobleman of Northern Mongolia Čoγtu tayi-ji/Tsoktu taiji. He had cut on the rocks near Tsoktu taiji's palace and places of his hunting inscriptions, some of which are in Indian Lancha script, Tibetan and Chinese.

Colophons of the Mongol Kanjur translated by order of Ligdan khan give us the names of learned Gūsis of the 16th century possessing a good knowledge of Sanskrit. For all those Gūsis classical Tibetan was like Latin for European scholars of that time and Sanskrit occupied in Mongolia the place of Greek in Europe. The savant Mongol authors used Sanskrit for titles of their works written in classical Tibetan and following an old tradition translated their names into Sanskrit. Translating works from Tibetan they always used Sanskrit equivalents of Tibetan terms.

Among the Gūsis of that century we shall mention here also the name of Ayusi Gūsi who invented at the end of the 16th century the additional letters of the Mongol National Script for the scientific transliteration of Sanskrit and Tibetan texts. These letters were adapted also for the transcription of Chinese characters on the basis of the Mandarin or Peking dialect. A good knowledge of Sanskrit philological works of Pāṇini, Kalāpa, Candragomin and other Indian authors and commentaries on them permitted Ayusi Gūsi to elaborate a very scientific system of rendering letters and sounds of the civilized nations of the world and thanks to that Gūsi the Mongol National Script became one of the most elaborated scripts of the civilized world long before the invention of European system of transliteration and transcription based on Latin.

In the 17th century a great scholar of the Western Mongols Jaya paṇḍita Oγtaryui-yin Dalai, one of the best Sanskritists and Tibetanists of his time among the Mongols, created on the basis of the Mongol National Script an Oirat-Mongol *Toda üsüq* 'Clear Script', destined for the unification of Western Mongol Oirat dialects on the basis of the Mongol Written Sūtra Language pronounced by learned Oirat-Mongols of his time.

The great Oirat Paṇḍita with his very talented and enthusiastic disciples created the literary language of Oirat-Mongols and enriched it by his brilliant translations from Tibetan. His disciples helped their Guru by their translations from Tibetan and transliterations of old Mongol texts to popularize the new Clear Script among the Oirat-Mongols. They created in a very short time the Oirat-Mongol Written Sūtra Language which was also quite clear for all other Mongol intellectuals, but was destined mostly for the Oirat-Mongols for their unity on the eve of Manchu conquest.

The Oirat-Mongol school of Jaya Paṇḍita amended the Mongol Buddhist philosophical and scientific terminology by new variants, both written and oral.

The contemporary of the great Oirat Paṇḍita the East Mongol Mahā-guru Jñānavajra, the first Mongol incarnation of Tibetan historian Tāranātha was a very talented sculptor, painter and Sanskritist, the inventor of the Soyombo (Skt. *svayambhū*) alphabet, known among the Mongols as an Alphabet of Liberty and Independence. This alphabet also has special letters corresponding to the letters of Indian scripts.

For the 18th century we shall note the name of Lčaṅ-skya khutukhtu Lalitavajra, an editor-in-chief of the Mongol Tanjur in 225 volumes. For the translation of that great encyclopaedia of classical Indian science from Tibetan into Mongolian were moblized in the full sense of that word all learned Gūsis

of every part of North and South Mongolia and scholars in all branches of science represented in the Tanjur.

The tremendous work was finished in a little more than eight years and the savant translators included into that Tanjur some works translated by eminent scholars of the past, which are very interesting for the historians of the Written Sūtra Language of the early period.

In the editorial board were included the best connoisseurs of Tibetan and Sanskrit. For uniformity of terminology the editors compiled a special dictionary *Merged γarqu-yin orun nereltü toγtaγaγsan dagyig* including many Sanskrit terms.

Colophons of the Mongol Tanjur, many of which are in verses, give a lot of interesting facts on the spread of learned Gūsis in different parts of Mongolia. The first volume of the Descriptive Catalogue of the Mongol Tanjur [by the author of this article] containing volumes 1-25 was published by Ācārya Raghu Vira and his son and learned successor Dr. Lokesh Chandra in their Śatapiṭaka series.

Among many illustrious names of Mongol savants versed in Sanskrit we are obliged to mention here the name of Sum-pa mkhan-po Jñānaśrībhūti from Upper Mongolia (*Degedü Mongγol*), who was a very versatile author of great erudition.

Sanskrit and Tibetan studies flourished in all parts of Mongolia in the 19th century. In Buddhist monasteries of Buriat-Mongols in Transbaikalia, and Kalmuks—Oirat-Mongols on the Don and Volga in Russia appeared many learned Gūsis versed in Tibetan and Sanskrit. Some of them had studied in the monasteries of Mongolia and then in Tibet. Some of them visited India—a land of their Dreams.

Among the scholars of that time Ṅag-dbaṅ bstan-dar of Alashan in South Mongolia, a philosopher and philologist was very famous in Mongolia and Tibet by his works and great erudition.

In Northern Mongolia two brothers Bstan-dar sṅags-ram-pa and Blo-bzaṅ bkra-šis were radiant by their acquired knowledge. In Siberia the eminent Gūsi Sumatiratna from Transbaikalia was very distinguished by his profound learning, and his classical Tibeto-Mongolian dictionary *Bod-hor-kyi brda-yig miṅ-chig don-gsum gsal-bar-byed-pa mun-sel sgron-me* was well known in manuscript copies in all Mongolia. The dictionary was published in Ulanbator in 1957-59 in the Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum.

In the first quarter of the 20th century from the scholars of Northern Mongolia, Buryatia and Kalmukia we shall cite some distinguished connoisseurs

of Sanskrit and Tibetan:

Rtsa-ba Rta-mgrin, a historian of Buddhism in Mongolia and the author of many works in different fields of Buddhist knowledge and the highly esteemed Guru of many hundred disciples.

Gūsi Buyandalai, a learned co-author of the first modern manual of cosmography and geography for the primary schools of Mongolia. After the foundation of the Mongol Academy of Literature at the end of 1921 he was elected a member of that scientific institution reorganised in the second half of our century into the Academy of Sciences. Gūsi Buyandalai enthusiastically worked for the development of new branches of modern sciences in Mongolian and with his wide erudition in Sanskrit and Tibetan works helped teachers, compilers and translators from Russian and Japanese to find the Sanskrit correspondences of European terminology on botany, zoology, astronomy, mathematics in Written Sūtra Language. Many of his writings remain unpublished to this day.

Gūsi Buyandalai was a Brother-in-Dharma and good friend of the above mentioned Rtsa-ba Rta-mgrin and Anggi Phyag-rdor from the Urga monastery, who received his nickname Anggi 'The Distinguished One' for his erudition in Sanskrit and Tibetan classics.

In the first third of the 20th century, among the Kalmuks on the Volga and Don also were well-educated Tibetologists and Sanskritists, who had studied in Mongolia and Tibet and visited India. We shall note here late Gūsi Padma Bovayev, who had studied in Tibet over many years. The Soviet Mongolist and academician B. Vladimirtsov in his lecture 'Buddhism in Tibet and Mongolia' delivered on the First Buddhist Exposition in Saint-Petersburg in 1919 had mentioned him. Another Kalmuk Sanskritist and also a good friend of academician B. Vladimirtsov was Blo-bzaṅ šes-rab Tepkin, whom I had often met in 1925-27 in the hospitable home of the academician. An eminent Soviet indologist Serge Oldenburg also esteemed Blo-bzaṅ šes-rab for his good knowledge in Sanskrit and Tibetan. That last Kalmuk Tibetanist and Sanskritist during his travels in Tibet had visited India with a group of Tibetan and Mongol pilgrims from Lhasa. Now among the European Oirat Mongols—Kalmuks of Volga the old Mongolian traditional knowledge of Sanskrit and Tibetan is fully forgotten.

Sanskritists in Buryatia have disappeared and only an average knowledge of Tibetan still exists among the older generation of Buryats.

In Northern Mongolia the native and more than millenial year old tradition of Sanskrit studies was interrupted almost fully in 1937. In South Mongo-

lia the Maoists put an end to all cultural traditions of learning Sanskrit and Tibetan among the Mongols.

After the foundation of the State University at Ulanbator in 1942 the author of these lines was a first professor delivering at that time lectures on general linguistics and Mongolian, Mongol folklore and literature. Establishing a chair of Oriental languages and literatures I could not find a Sanskritist and introduced Tibetan studies with the help of an old worker of the first Mongol Academy of Literature Mr. Dorji (Rdo-rje).

I hope that now, with the growing interest in Sanskrit studies and with the reviving of the traditions of Indian studies in the Soviet Union and the establishment of diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of Mongolia and the Republic of India, the beginning of Mongolian studies in the Nehru University in New Delhi, where Indian students shall study the Mongol National Script and the Written Sūtra Language to understand and study profoundly monuments of ancient Indian science and culture conserved in excellent Tibetan and Mongol translations but in most part lost in India, may help to promote the renaissance of Sanskrit studies in the University of Mongolia and also in the Mongol Academy of Sciences, reorganised from the Mongol Academy of Literature, which had in its beginning period very good Sanskritists and Tibetanists in its institutions.

It is my duty to notify here that by his publications Ācārya RaghuVira gave not only to the Mongolists of the world new and important specimens of Mongol Literature but also created for Indian students excellent textbooks and training appliances.

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ORHIBA, A MODERN INDONESIAN CONCEPT OF YOGA

Orhiba, with the modern Indonesian taste for acronyms, stands for *Olah Raga Hidup Baru* "New Life Gymnastics"[1]. It is a kind of physical exercise with strong hygienic purpose founded on a basis of Javanese mystical conceptions, but certainly influenced by *Haṭhayoga* views, as I propose to show below. Although quite recently started and only brought into Jakarta since 1968, it has spread rapidly and can now boast of a following of thousands of members, scattered all over Indonesia, but for the main part living in Java (with Jakarta as its headquarters) and Bali. The movement, to use the term here for convenience, though the founder himself does not agree with the qualification, is constantly spreading with amazing speed. At the moment it is considered the third most conspicuous[2] mystical movement in Indonesia, the others being *Subud* and *Pangestu*.

Subud has gained an international adherence of several years standing, as witnessed by its last congress held in August 1971 at its Jakarta head office, which was attended by members from all over the world[3].

Pangestu seems so far to have remained strictly Indonesian, and possibly even almost exclusively Javanese, with members who for the largest part originate from the Javanese upper and intellectual classes.

Orhiba, the latest of the three, seems to be well on its way to gain sub-

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[1] *Orhiba* Manual, 1971a, title page.

[2] It does not imply that the movements are necessarily also the largest, as their renown is due to the fact that their members originate from the educated classes. It is most probable that in the country there are other movements with numerically a larger adherence, but of which nothing is known.

[3] Both in Jakarta and in Bali I met with young foreigners who had come to attend this conference. It is interesting to note that foreign members receive Indonesian names at their initiation. The young people I met in Djakarta, and among whom were students temporarily registrated at the University of Indonesia, were called Ridwan, Mohamad, Siti and the like, whereas the young Australian in Bali, who was staying with friends of mine, was called Mursalin.

stantial international support[4].

To estimate a mystical movement properly, naturally we have to consider its cultural background. In Indonesia, probably more than anywhere else, this means taking into account the cultural background of its founder along with the possible influences he has had. Spiritually *Subud*, *Pangestu* and *Orhiba* are akin in that their cultural background is the same, Javanese. The founders of these movements are of traditional Javanese extraction[5], which means that their religious views are basically *kebatinan* mysticism, and more exactly for at least two of them, the *kebatinan* of the *priyayi* or Javanese upper class. *Kebatinan* is the generic name given to the mystical movements which originate from Central Java. In fact, it is the Javanese religion[6]. It is the background of every traditionally reared Javanese from whatever social level or surroundings, though social and cultural surroundings do as a matter of fact influence the colour of the *kebatinan*. Thus we find more or less Islam influenced[7] *kebatinan* groups

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[4] Mr. Said Sukanto Tjokrodiatmodjo, *Orhiba's* leader, succeeded in gaining followers in Canada, when he was delivering a paper on *Orhiba* at the Amorc Conference in 1970 (published as Sukanto, 1971). The Jakarta branch has been successful in winning adherence among members of foreign legations and business offices. One of the more noticeable *Orhiba* performers is, for instance, Mrs. Galbraith, the wife of the Ambassador of the USA. Personally I met with some foreign performers at Mrs. Suprapto's training classes. Mrs. Suprapto is the widow of General Suprapto who was murdered in 1965 at the 30 September coup. It should be observed that the foreign performers do not, usually, subscribe to the *Orhiba* mysticism.

[5] The name of *Subud's* founder is Mohamad Subuh Sumohadiwidjojo, shortened to Subuh only, which I suspect is not a real name, but should probably be considered as a mystical initiation name in the *Subud* tradition (see note 3). Mr. Subuh does not like *Subud* to be classified as a *kebatinan* movement, as he said that it is too firmly based on Islam. But there are many *kebatinan* groups based on Islam, as we shall see below. The leader of *Pangestu* is the late Professor Dr. Sumantri Hardjoprakoso (see Hardjoprakoso, 1956), a psychiatrist of standing and former Indonesian representative at the Seamec Head Office, Bangkok. The founder of *Orhiba* is Mr. Sukanto (see note 4), of whom we shall hear more below.

[6] See a. o. *Agami Djawi* ("Javanese Religion"), a treatise on *kebatinan*, dating from the last century, of which a 1907 MS is listed in Pigeaud, 1967-1970, II, p. 392. Geertz, 1960, though evidently not acquainted with treatises of this kind, saw sufficient evidence of the phenomenon to style his book "*The Religion of Java*". It should be observed that Geertz nowhere uses the term *kebatinan*, although it is the common name used by Indonesian themselves, both in speech and in writing. For *agama jawa*, see also Muskens, 1969, pp. 63-82. Other *kebatinan* sources are, for instanee, Séńo-Sastroamidjojo (see Literature) and the journals and brochures of the various *kebatinan* associations.

[7] The Ministry of Religion, Jakarta, provides a list of the most important and officially registrated *kebatinan* associations. The kind of religious background of the association is very often already indicated by their names. Some examples of Islam based *kebatinan* groups are:

next to *kebatinan* associations which have to be considered pre-Islamic or Hindu-Javanese and animistic of origin[8]. The latter are sometimes called by the generic name of *kedjawèn* ('javanism')[9]. The ultimate goal aimed at by *kebatinan* is spiritual harmony, containing an absolute equanimity in the emotional sphere[10]. As to the ways by which to reach this goal, it depends on the socio-cultural and religious background of the movements itself. In the *kebatinan* circles of the *priyayi* class, for instance, which aim at reaching the intellectual groups, it is usually stressed that the mystical teachings of the movements involved will in no way interfere with the religious scruples of its members and prospective members. The mystical object can be attained by ways consistent with whatever religion or belief is adhered to by its members. For the best way to reach this object is by contemplation of the inner life[11] and this does not depend on a specific religion or belief. Indeed, spiritual leaders of *priyayi kebatinan* extraction tend to quote freely from the great religions and philosophical systems of the world[12].

It is from this spiritual atmosphere that the above mentioned movements originate[13]. However, *Orhiba* stands apart from both *Subud* and *Pangestu*—and from most *kebatinan* movements for that matter—in that it adds and emphasizes

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Risalah Tauhid, Tarekat, Makrifattullah, Ilmu Hikmah, Islam Rasul, and the like. (List of 1967).

[8] Some interesting names on the List of the Ministry of Religion are, for instance: *Djawa Budi Sedjati Madjapahit* (obviously referring to the Hindu-Javanese Kingdom of Madjapahit), *Sapta Dharma* (an association which, however, shows a mixture of Islam and Hindu-Javanese traits. See Sri Pawenang, 1966), *Bodronojo* (Skt. *Vajrânaya*), and so on.

[9] The term is in this sense sometimes used with somewhat derisive connotation by anti-*kebatinan* circles. There exists also another meaning of the term which has nothing to do with *kebatinan*, but which only refers to the Javanese area in the agricultural sense. Geertz, 1960, p. 339 mentions the term in its first, and 1968, p. 42ff. in its second sense.

[10] Called "spiritual excellence" by Geertz, 1960, p. 231ff. It will be obvious that I do not agree with Geertz that this goal with all its implications should be considered as basical only for the *priyayi* views.

[11] Inner life=*batin*, hence *kebatinan*, "science of the inner life."

[12] See, for example, *Satria Pinandita* I, 1, where various *kebatinan* leaders quote extensively from the Kor'an, the Bible, the Sayings of Confucius, and the like. Mr. Sukanto, talking about the importance of a healthy body, suddenly quoted *Mens sana in corpore sano* (also mentioned in *Orhiba* Manual, 1971b, p. 4).

[13] Booklets and magazines of these movements are usually distributed to members only, but are sometimes available on request. Members are also ready to lend their literature to others, as I have experienced.

the importance of the physical side of human development. Without a harmonious development of the body, *Orhiba* views consider it impossible to develop the mind truly as well. For "Body and mind are inseparable and of equal importance for keeping perfect balance between the physical and mental aspects of man"[14]. As such *Orhiba* has also been able to gain support and recognition among people who generally do not respond to purely mystical movements, as, for instance, the younger generation of the university educated.

I propose now to look into *Orhiba's* history and subject-matter more closely. The founder of *Orhiba* as the successful movement at the moment is, Mr. Said Sukanto Cokrodiatmojo, former Head of the Indonesian Police, from which he retired in 1959. Mr. Sukanto is a native from Central Java and of *priyayi* birth. As such he rans true to type, for, although confessing Islam[15] his outlook on life conforms certainly more with the views traditionally held by this class. In fact, Mr. Sukanto told me that since the age of ten he had listened to the *kebatinan* mystical views his father was fond of telling him about, and that he had found these views far more comforting for his peace of mind than the catechism of Islam he received at the same time from a religious teacher engaged to instruct him by his parents. This situation, that a child receives Islamic religious teaching, while at the same time he is also exposed to *kebatinan* influence which would often contradict the instruction of his religious teacher, is by no means exceptional in a Javanese family, as I know from personal experience. The inclination to mystical speculations he early showed, Mr. Sukanto retained all his life, as indeed most Indonesians of traditional Javanese upbringing tend to remain all their lives inclined to mystical teachings. In the case of Mr. Sukanto the search for spiritual harmony brought him into contact with mystical movements other than *kebatinan* as well. He joined Freemasonry and Amorc (Ancient Mystical Order Rosae Crucis)[16] and he attained

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[14] Sukanto, 1971, p. 4.

[15] The fact should already be obvious from his first name *Said*. As Arabic names are connected with Islam, and Arabic name is generally not given in non-Moslem circles in Indonesia. This fact became clear when Indonesians of Chinese descent changed their Chinese names into Indonesian from 1966 onwards. As most Chinese do not confess Islam, the names they chose were generally of Sanskrit or Modern Indonesian origin. I have personally been approached by many Chinese friends and acquaintances to provide them with names of Sanskrit or Old-Javanese origin.

[16] Both associations have been outlawed since 1961 and have still not managed to be established back.

the level of Grandmaster[17]. However, the basis of *kebatinan* has proved strongest and should be considered as of direct influence on his ultimate choice of *Orhiba* as a way of life, as we shall see below. One of the pillars of *kebatinan* is, for example, the concept of *batin* (inner life) and *lahir* (roughly: the outward world)[18], which have to be brought into balance to reach the desired spiritual harmony. As *batin* and *lahir* refer popularly also to mind versus body, it is not surprising that the harmony as the final object of *kebatinan* is more often understood as the bringing into harmonious balance of mind and body. In any case, so it was understood by Mr. Sukanto[19]. Not surprisingly also this brought him into contact with yoga. In 1953, when still Head of the Police, he joined a movement called *The Divine Life Society*, where he learned to appreciate the yoga way of life enough to introduce it into the Police Force. However, it was not until 1955/1956 that he could secure the assistance of a qualified yoga teacher from India. For this he had to go himself to India[20], where he found Professor Vishnu Devanand from Rishikesh willing to teach members of the Indonesian Police who were interested in yoga training. In the end, however, Mr. Sukanto could not remain satisfied with the yoga way of life. He said that, after all, he had to consider *kebatinan* and Indian Hinduism to be too far apart for a Javanese to be able to feel content for long with the Indian views. It is possible that the comparative strenuosity required for the yoga exercises or the prescribed food and other restrictions discouraged him in the end. For, as we shall see below, *Orhiba* exercises are not exhausting even to elderly or sickly people, due to their easy adaptibility to different age groups and degrees of health. Also, there are no food restrictions involved[21]. This is in complete accordance with the views of the average traditionally reared Javanese, who as a registered Moslem nonetheless seldom follows the restrictions on, for instance, pork. Mr. Sukanto is no exception.

In 1957 he went to Central Java on holiday and it was then that, according to his own words, he "found *Orhiba*". As a matter of fact, he came across a certain holy man of "humble origin" whose name he feels not free to reveal

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[17] Mr. Sukanto has retained this position, as the Indonesian members are still recognized as such by their international brothers, despite the outlawing of these associations.

[18] See notes 10, and 11. Cf. also Geertz, 1960, p. 232.

[19] Sukanto, 1971, p. 4.

[20] Standard topic at *Orhiba* propaganda meetings. He has also visited the Himalayas on this tour.

[21] Mr. Sukanto rather emphasized the point to me, as he seemed not to have been aware of the fact that many modern yoga teachers no longer consider food restrictions as obligatory. See, for instance, Chrishop, 1957, Chapter V.

and who related to him the *Orhiba* conceptions, which, he said, had been conceived around 1941, but had at the time only been known to a very small group of people in the country. It was then called *Olah Raga Sempurna* (Perfect Gymnastics), and it was disseminated through personal contacts only. Mr. Sukanto made the acquaintance of that certain holy man, who was either the conceptor or already an adherent, and who revealed to him the *Orhiba* teaching and physical exercises, not, he said, in the usual way of person to person instruction, but by way of "intuition". It took him three years to understand its implications and to realize its possibilities in the *kebatinan* sphere. In 1960 he considered himself ready to disseminate the teaching. By then he had retired from the Police Force. He started with members of his family and close friends. In 1961 the *Lembaga Pembantu Pembangunan Djiwa* ("Institute to assist in the building of the Soul") was founded and it held its first congress in Jokya, Central Java[22]. Mr. Sukanto took the opportunity to speak about *Orhiba* with no apparent success. The *Lembaga* proved moreover to be short-lived for want of a proper budget, and friends suggested afterwards to found a special association for *Orhiba*. It was not until 1963[23] that this association was actually founded in Malang, East Java, and quite officially so, by deed. However, the movement was virtually unknown outside the small circle of enthusiasts and remained so for years. In the light of its present popularity this may seem strange. A fact is that at the time President Sukarno was not favourably disposed towards mystical movements in general. In 1961 he outlawed all mystical associations of foreign origin, including both Freemasonry and Amorc, whereas of the local movements he was known to have spoken derisively and even vituperatively on more than one occasion[24]. Moreover, the founder of *Orhiba*, Mr. Sukanto himself, had completely fallen out of favour with the President. Although never officially admitted, it was an open secret that Mr. Sukanto's retirement from the Police Force was largely due to a serious

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[22] *Satria Pinandita* I, 1, Introduction.

[23] The date of the official deed. The association itself, however, seems to have come into action in 1964.

[24] He used the term *ilmu klĕnik* (secret lore) for these movements. The term acquired an unfavourable connotation afterwards. Many Indonesians of Javanese descent were quite angry and frustrated at the time. Dr. Tjan Tjoe Siem, of Sino-Javanese extraction, then Professor of Javanese Language and Literature at the University of Indonesia, Jakarta, and at the moment lecturing at Nanyang University, Singapore, said to me in those days that he considered Sukarno's attitude as in fact betraying the traditional Javanese characteristic of syncretism. This feeling was shared by many others.

disagreement between him and the President. But, whatever the reasons, it was not thought advisable to push *Orhiba's* cause in Jakarta or West Java in general yet. The movement won considerable following in East Java and Bali, however, and it resulted in the founding of a Bali branch in 1966, likewise by deed. At the same time a few members of the movement tried to start propagating the *Orhiba* exercises in Jakarta. They did at first not meet with success. "As a matter of fact," Mr. Sukanto said, "they were frankly ridiculed everywhere"[25]. But after a while reports came in from Central and East Java about miraculous healings caused by *Orhiba* gymnastics. It was said that it had cured several severe cases of asthma, and it was even rumoured that someone in Malang had been cured from a cancer tumor after having performed the *Orhiba* exercises for only a few months. Mr. Sukanto was approached by many people, healthy as well as ailing, who had heard about these healings, and they asked him to give talks on *Orhiba* and demonstrate its exercises. This happened in 1968, and since then propaganda for *Orhiba* has been taken out of his hands[26]. People flock to his house in Jakarta, he is asked to give talks everywhere and *Orhiba* instructions are given all over Jakarta by an ever increasing number of instructors who also propagate the *Orhiba* mystical views as they go along. In 1970 the *Orhiba* Head Office was officially moved from Malang to Jakarta, as usual, by deed. It should be observed here that the official deed does not in the least mean that the association is a normal foundation entitled to receive periodical contributions in money from its members as laid down in a formal constitution. In fact, the official deed is usually seen as a political precaution in order not to be accused of subversive or otherwise illegal intentions[27]. No member of *Orhiba* is therefore required to pay a contribution. Gifts are, however, welcomed. But as a spiritual association *Orhiba* thinks it improper to impose a regular contribution in money upon its members. This policy is nothing unusual for a mystical association to take in Indonesia. Naturally it results more often than not in near bankruptcy for the association involved and

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'Commenting on *Orhiba's* present popularity he added: "It seems the fate of mystical teachings to be repudiated first and acclaimed afterwards."

[26] The publication of the *Orhiba* Manual in both Indonesian and English is, for example, taken care of by a wealthy member who was severely ill when he approached Mr. Sukanto in 1968 and has now fully recovered (see note 43). The Manual has at the moment started to be sold at a few bookstores at non-profit prices.

[27] In the official deed the object of the association involved is clearly outlined. In the deeds of the various *Orhiba* it is also stated with emphasis that the association has no political interest or affinities whatsoever. All these documents are in Mr. Sukanto's possession.

this will hamper its development severely. In the case of *Orhiba* the problem does at the moment not arise. Its wealthier members are only too eager to assist in its budget and take propaganda into their hands. Already television is started to be used for *Orhiba* advertisement and propaganda, whereas periodically a propaganda evening is organized to which members and their guests are invited[28].

In so far as *Orhiba* gymnastics are considered inseparably connected with its mystical views, it should be considered a kind of yoga. However, the movement behaves rather ambiguously in the matter. On one hand, both in personal interviews and in talks held in public, Mr. Sukanto never leaves off emphasizing that unless one follows the *Orhiba* way of life completely, which means unquestionable submission to its teaching, the exercises will have no effect different from any other kind of gymnastics or plain bodily exercise. It follows that miraculous healings can only be expected in cases of complete faith[29]. It is therefore compulsive to subscribe fully to the *Orhiba* conceptions in order to attain the desired results of good health. On the other hand, as *Orhiba* obviously, and indeed most conspicuously, aims at gaining a following as large as possible, unbelievers who only want to join the physical training for the sake of mere exercise, are encouraged to do so[30]. Moreover, people subscribing to other *kebatinan* teachings are equally welcomed. I know of several instances in which *Subud*, *Pangestu* and members of other *kebatinan* movements[31] joined *Orhiba* training groups. But "It does not matter," Mr. Sukanto assured me when asked his opinion, "*Orhiba's* object is in the first place to make people healthier, for then they can do whatever they want to do better. Besides, our principles do not clash with the teachings of any religion or belief." On the side of the members of these other *kebatinan* groups no qualms seem to exist

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[28] I attended two of these meetings, the latest of which was held on February 11 of this year. As an illustration of *Orhiba's* popularity I mention a few of the attending guests: Dr. Hatta, one-time Vice President of Indonesia and Mrs. Hatta; Mr. Sudjono, former Indonesian Ambassador to Japan, Mrs. Sudjono (both are active members of the *Orhiba* association); Mrs. Surjadarma, wife of a former Chief-of-Staff of the Indonesian Airforce; Rosihan Anwar, general editor of the newspaper *Pedoman*, and many others.

[29] *Orhiba* Manual, 1971b, p. 10.

[30] Mr. Sukanto's opinion on this was: Better to perform without faith than having faith and not performing.

[31] Another *kebatinan* groups is, for example, the *Bambu Kuning* (Yellow Bamboo), whose leader, Mr. Dradjat (incidentally also Javanese by birth) has considerable prestige as a healer. He sent some of his "patients", who suffer from asthma and high bloodpressure, to Mrs. Suprapto's (see note 4) training classes.

either in joining the *Orhiba* training courses. It demonstrates in fact the basic similarity of most *kebatinan* teachings, or can be considered, incidentally, as being quite in accordance with the traditional Javanese attitude to different mystical teachings since olden times[32].

Orhiba gymnastics consists of 24 exercises which are notably light. The reason is stated: the exercises are meant to suit "men and women, young or old, whether strong or weak, well or ailing"[33], whereas the intention is obvious: to encourage both the healthy and the ailing to join the training. The point lies in the frequency and speed with which the exercises have to be executed. Herein the adaptation to different age groups and degrees of agility or condition of the body is made clear, Ideally each of the 24 exercises should be performed 24 times in the highest possible speed, which amounts to a total of no more than 15 minutes for the whole [34]. But, beginners and the less healthy or agile are advised to proceed gradually, starting with the frequency and speed best suited and increasing both according to their own ability. There is also one special preliminary exercise meant for those who through ill-health are not able to join the regular exercises[35]. It is considered of no consequence how long it will take before one attains the required frequency and speed, as long as the exercises are performed daily without interruption. Irregular performance is thought unwise[36]. *Orhiba's* claim to possess healing powers is clearly indicated[37] and is always openly declared at the propaganda meetings[38]. In this it already resembles popular *Haṭhayoga*, but we shall see more evidence of a certain similarity in feeling below.

The *Orhiba* exercises are all to be performed in standing position as this is seen as "the most characteristic posture of the human body"[39], and are directed at stimulating the entire body from head to foot in a series of simple movements which have to be executed rhythmically. Every movement is

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[32] Cf. For instance Kraemer, 1937.

[33] *Orhiba* Manual, 1971a, p. 2.

[34] Sukanto, 1971, p. 6 and orally at the courses and demonstrations. However, *Orhiba* Manual, 1971b, p. 3 states: "15 to 20 minutes" or "as long as one likes to perform" and is individually needed.

[35] *Orhiba* Manual, 1971b, p. 11.

[36] *Orhiba* Manual, 1971b, p. 10, where the warning is given that once one has started, training should be sustained without interruption, as relapse into previous illnesses is otherwise feared.

[37] *Orhiba* Manual, 1971b, pp. 3, 4 and 10.

[38] Cf. note 41.

[39] *Orhiba* Manual, 1971a, p. 2.

meant to stimulate one particular part of the body, as, for instance, the muscles of the shoulders, of the neck, the diaphragm, the muscles of the stomach which are considered to influence the internal organs as well, and so on. Because the movements are simple, great stress is laid on frequent respeating. As such it is obvious that the exercises themselves are as unlike those of *Haṭhayoga* as can be. However, very much like *Haṭhayoga*, *Orhiba* stresses the importance of correct breathing, as will be discussed below. Nothing can be said of the provenance of the *Orhiba* exercises, as we do not know who the actual conceptor was. Mr. Sukanto declines emphatically all responsibility, but is at the same time not inclined to disclose the name of the person who should be considered as responsible. Thus the view popularly held in non-*Orhiba* circles that the exercises would have been conceived on the pattern of the Japanese *taiso*[40] cannot be proved either way. With regard to the therapeutic and otherwise miraculous claims[41] of *Orhiba*, it is just as the "wild and unverified claims" of yoga about which K.T. Behanan[42] wrote. Despite the effusions of personal experiences which seem to have become part of the *Orhiba* propaganda meetings, no one has as yet been able to come forth with sufficient scientific documentation of his or her process of recovering[43]. Considering the psychological appeal *kebatinan* teachings in general have, and thus also *Orhiba* must have, the miraculous healings should be understood as to have taken place in cases of imaginary or at best psychosomatic disturbances. However, unlike

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[40] Introduced into Indonesia during the Japanese occupation (1941-1945). It would explain the standing position in which the exercises have to be executed. The *taiso* exercises are, however, different and more elaborate. Also *Orhiba* does not use musical accompaniment, although at the last demonstration evening I attended Mr. Sukanto said to have no objection to music.

[41] The physical and psychological disturbances *Orhiba* is reported to have cured range from such minor indispositions as a stiff neck or slight melancholism on account of having failed an examination to graver illnesses like chronic asthma, cancer and severe neurosis (see note 43). Mr. Sukanto declared also on the evening of February 11, that if both husbands and wives would be equally active in performing *Orhiba*, population growth would soon cease to be a problem in Indonesia. By some *Orhiba* is also believed to give occult powers.

[42] 1959, Preface.

[43] On these occasions three standard cases are usually recorded:

a) Mr. Iskaq Tjokroadisurjo, a wellknown lawyer in Djakarta, who was acutely suffering from cancer a few years ago. He was, in fact, operated, and as he said, "was sentenced to death", for the doctors only gave him five more years to live. In his despair he let himself be persuaded to see Mr. Sukanto and join *Orhiba* class. After having performed the exercises for a few months, traces of cancer were declared to have vanished completely. He had consulted doctors both in Netherlands and in Japan, who were baffled by this recovering.

some yoga experts[44], most *Orhiba* enthusiasts are not reconciled to the idea that their exercises have been successful only in curing psychosomatic cases.

Nonetheless, as a system of physical practice *Orhiba* has undeniably succeeded. Its exercises, though simple, are certainly sound and have proved successful in inducing a high degree of relaxation. Moreover, by the very simpleness of its exercises *Orhiba* has managed to attract the people who most needed exercise, but who would have been discouraged by more strenuous training, as are the physically weak and elderly. In this *Orhiba* has proved to be more appealing to Indonesians in general than *Haṭhayoga*. When Mr. Sukanto introduced yoga into the Police Force in 1953, he in fact introduced it also to a larger part of Indonesians. Many people, among whom some I personally know, were at the time sufficiently attracted to start taking yoga lessons and sustain the training seriously for years. But most of them have by now ceased to train at all. They admitted to have found the yoga exercises much too exhausting as they became older. Quite a few among these former yoga enthusiasts have as a matter of fact now switched to *Orhiba* exercises, which, I am persuaded, they have found a most convenient compromise of yoga[45]. As Mr. Sukanto saw it: "*Haṭhayoga* is all right for the young and healthy, but evidently it puts others off. *Orhiba* on the other hand considers that part of society which would benefit most by regular exercise, but who do not possess the strength and energy to do more than a daily half hour or so of simple movements. It seems we have given them what they needed."

However, he was not able to present full documentation on his case. For although the doctors in Japan had asked to be sent the tumor which was removed from his body or to get them into touch with the Indonesian doctors who had treated him, he never took the trouble. When asked the reason, he said that at the time he had felt much too happy to let himself be bothered about documentation. "I am here in person," he added, "alive and well, as proof incarnate of my recovering."

[b]) Mrs. Suripto, who claims to have been fully cured from diabetes, high bloodpressure, a major heart disease and severe obesity. Again she could not provide conclusive medical documentation.

[c]) Mr. Siregar from Pontianak, according to his own confession "once a ne'er-do-well, but now, thanks to *Orhiba*, a useful citizen". Apart from having cured himself from the desire to dissipation, he claims to have cured his mother who had suffered from depressive mania for sixteen years, by leading her gradually to perform *Orhiba* exercises for many months. Because of this striking success he was able to gain substantial following for *Orhiba* in Pontianak. No medical documentation was presented.

[44] For instance, Wood, 1959, pp. 179 ff.

[45] Yoga is, however, still comparatively widely performed in Indonesia, mostly by the younger generation.

Nevertheless, if it was only plain physical exercise *Orhiba* offered its members, I doubt whether its popularity would have been as great as it is at the moment. We must certainly take into account the psychological power mystical movements generally have over Indonesians. Without a background of mysticism people would have had no faith in the beneficial effects of *Orhiba* exercises, however sensible they may be. And *Orhiba* would not likely have managed to attract the older and less healthy people for whom plain bodily exercise without the magical promise of mystical healing would not have been appealing at all. It is thus not really possible to estimate *Orhiba's* influence outside its mystical context.

And what, in fact, is this mystical context? There is no literature published on the subject except a short manual for the physical exercises, which has been several editions, and a very cursory introduction of Mr. Sukanto's own hand[46]. We have thus to rely on his personal explanations, for it will be clear that he has to be considered as responsible for these views or, in any case, for its interpretation. Entirely in agreement with his birth and background, the atmosphere of his conceptions is basically *kebatinan's*. Spiritual harmony, which means a harmonious balancing of opposite concepts and feelings, leading to a complete equanimity of emotions, is the ultimate goal he aims at [47]. By complete equanimity of emotions he means absolute composure or evenness of mind in coping with life's donations of luck and unluck. Next to this he stresses the importance of living correctly, which means behaving correctly towards all living beings, but in the first place to one's fellow-men[48]. It is obvious that this approach is mainly psychological and never philosophical, which is, incidentally, *kebatinan's* main characteristic[49]. To this Mr. Sukanto adds the conception that man consists of three compounds: soul, mind and body[50], and it is these compounds which should be brought into perfect balance in order to attain the above mentioned state of mind.

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[46] The *Orhiba* Manuals, 1971a and 1971b, and Sukanto, 1971. Earlier editions of the Indonesian Manual seem to date only from 1966.

[47] Cf. a. o. Hardjoprakoso, 1956, pp. 54-57; Séno-Sastroamidjojo, 1958c, 1961 and 1967 (p. 47). Also Geertz, 1960, Chapter 17.

[48] Hardjoprakoso, 1956, pp. 63 ff,: Séno-Sastroamidjojo, 1967, pp. 48 ff.

[49] Classical literature like Ronggowarsito, 1924, Wirjokocsosoemomo, 1937, also parts of *Sêrat Tjentini*, 1912-1915, which are concerned with the ideal image of the human being in his adjustment to life in this world, belong to standard *kebatinan* reading. Hardjoprakoso, 1956, presents a thesis on psycho-therapy based on *kebatinan* views, which are compared with the theories of Jung and Adler.

[50] Sukanto, 1971, p. 7.

What he means by "soul" is the "life-giving force", which can be given different names, "anything you want," as he said to me, "like *prāṇa*, breath of life and so on." To him it amounts all to one and the same thing: the substance by which man has come to life or was given life. "Is it not said in Islam," he added whimsically, "that God gave life to man by breathing into his mouth? This substance would certainly have been *prāṇa*." The life-giving force is daily inhaled, for it is acquired by way of man's breathing. Only by perfect breathing can man partake of the life-giving force and thus keep body and mind healthy. By breathing, the used energy is refreshed. Moreover, by perfect breathing the life energy is stored up and this will restore declining bodily cells and rebuild its strength. It is also this stored up energy which has therapeutic value.

It is interesting to compare Mr. Sukanto's views on the life giving force with what S. Yesudian[51] writes about *prāṇa*, which he also calls "life force": "*Prāṇa* flows through our body as a result of our breathing. If our breathing is in any way deficient, the manifestation of life, or of the life force, also remains deficient. *Prāṇa* manifests itself in the body in the form of health, thought, speech and action. Deficient breathing is always accompanied by unbalanced thoughts and actions of a chaotic, undisciplined and restless nature. The results of this disorder are the bodily disturbances which we know as illnesses." We may consider it the first noticeable parallel with *Haṭhayoga*. On account of the stress on this life giving force, *Orhiba* also emphatically underlines the importance of correct breathing. During the whole performance breathing should be executed through the mouth, for only by mouth breathing are the lungs considered to be filled or emptied completely. This breathing should be done audibly to give it more force. In fact, the resounding breathing is the one feature which attracts attention at *Orhiba* performances[51a]. At the last exercise, at which the breath after deep inhaling is held back for considerable time, exhalation comes with some performers in the end like a pistol-shot. Once the right technique of breathing is acquired, concentration should be centred on exhaling which is seen as the release of used and therefore useless energy that will only injure the body if not properly discharged. A perfectly functioning body will be able to obtain the exact amount of life giving force it needs through all its pores[52], while inhaling will by then be done automatically in the right

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[51] 1963, p. 81.

[51a] But unlike *Haṭhayoga*, *Orhiba* does not have special exercises for breathing only.

[52] Therefore more stress is laid on correct exhalation.

way.

"Mind" consists of man's thinking faculties as an individual being. It is that which gives him the right, but also the obligation, to think for himself. But mind should never be considered apart from its close connection with the body. For unless the body is equally healthy, the mind cannot remain truly healthy and well functioning. As Mr. Sukanto explained: "Most mystical teachings are only concerned with man's spiritual health, whereas the body as the vehicle of this spiritual side is always neglected. *Orhiba*, however, considers the body as of no less importance than the mind." Therefore *Orhiba* teaches that the body should not only be kept in perfect condition, but also be duly venerated[53]. In *Orhiba* views the body is never to be considered as mere dust. On the contrary, it is always emphasized that the body is a divine creation[54] and should therefore be loved and accordingly revered. Before starting with the actual exercises, first a short ritual of caressing one's own body and thanking God for its creation is performed[55]. An objection has been made as to the pagan character of a ritual like this. Mr. Sukanto's ready retort to it was: "If one loves the Creator, one should love his creations also."[56] Starvation of the flesh is naturally repulsive to *Orhiba* thinking. Indeed, *Orhiba's* object is to cultivate a "humble and respectful attitude...towards... (the) body as part of the great and indivisible whole", for such an attitude is expected to evoke "a natural sense of love and consideration towards human beings"[57].

Life in the hereafter is not of *Orhiba's* concern, as indeed it seldom is in *kebatinan* thinking[58]. Thus it is not clear what its views are in connection

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[53] *Orhiba* Manual, 1971a, p. 2 and 1971b, p. 5; Sukanto, 1971, p. 4.

[54] *Orhiba* Manual, 1971a, p. 2 and 1971b, p. 5.

[55] It is also performed at the end. First both arms are caressed, from hand to shoulder, then the body, from head to foot, after which both hands are clasped to the face, while one stands a moment in quiet reflection. No meditation in the yoga sense is meant.

[56] By this Mr. Sukanto actually parries the accusation sometimes put forward that *Orhiba* in fact is a-religious or even anti-religious. He is therefore also very careful to emphasize: "Not the exercises themselves provide the cure, but God and His Mercy through your own faith in His Power." Also *Orhiba* Manual, 1971b, p. 5: "To preserve one's health and revering and loving one's own body, is also (a way of) worshipping God."

[57] Sukanto, 1971, p. 6.

[58] Cf. also note 49. General *kebatinan* literature gives rules for living. See, for instance, Séno-Sastroamidjojo, 1958, 1961, 1962, etc.; Geertz, 1960, p.317: "this-worldy" mysticism. It is this side of *kebatinan* which is most conspicuous and which is adaptable to Islam. In the case of non-Islamic *kebatinan* teachings, it is obvious that there are views not compliable with Islam, and among these is the view on death. Hardjoprakoso, 1956, Chapter VIII, for

with the body and the soul as the life giving force after death. Mr. Sukanto's comment on this question was characteristically *kebatinan's*: "*Orhiba* is not another religion. It is a way of life. What *Orhiba* members think about death is really up to their own religion or belief."

The point is thus sufficiently made that *Orhiba's* main object is adjustment to life's ups and downs in this world only, where it is moreover believed that the healthy man can do better than his ailing fellow.

We have seen that Mr. Sukanto's concept of the life giving force—which he moreover did not hesitate to call *prāṇa*—comes very near to the *Haṭhayoga* conception as quoted above. *Orhiba's* emphasis on right breathing would therefore seem to be parallel also to the *Haṭhayoga* views.

There is, however, yet another concept put forward by Mr. Sukanto, which should be considered as an even clearer instance of *Haṭhayoga* influence. One of the *Orhiba* exercises, the second before the last in the series, is concerned with the movements of the spine, which should be alternately stretched and relaxed. Of this exercise Mr. Sukanto says: "Be sure you stretch your spine vigorously. You should feel the tension go up sharply into your head. Actually, what you really do is releasing the *hidden energy* that is *residing down at the base of the spine.* By stretching the spine forcefully this energy will *move upwards* into your head. The Sanskrit name of this energy is *kuṇḍalinī*, but a Javanese name exists also: *naga gĕni.*"

To my knowledge the term *naga gĕni* "fire serpent"[59] is in *kebatinan* context used in the sense of "passion", more often "evil passion" which should be conquered before one can consider trying to reach spiritual harmony. But Mr. Sukanto said that he uses the term in the sense of "man's hidden power" which resides, when at rest, coiled in the tailbone. "It is not without reason that the tailbone is called sacred in many languages," he added. "Just think of the Dutch

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instance, gives a view on death which should be considered as Hinduistic of pattern: Death is considered as transition to another existence, but closely affected by life in this world. It results in union with the *Suksma Sejati* (Eternal Soul) in the case of the person who during life has attained the *kebatinan* goal of complete equanimity of emotions, which means that he is detached from the material world. In the case, however, of the person who has not yet attained this spiritual goal, which means that he still has "affinities" to life in this world, it will result into (re) birth into another body. It is probably for this reason that *Pangestu*, which is based on the views discussed in Hardjoprakoso, 1956 (p. 178: *Pagujuban Ngesti Tunggal* in acronymic shortening *Pangestu*), has not managed to win adherence outside the traditional Javanese society. For other examples of Javanese mystico-philosophical beliefs which should be considered as being outside the boundaries of Moslem orthodoxy, see Zoetmulder, 1971.

[59] From the Skt. *nāga* and *agni*.

heiligbeen or the English *holy bone*"[60].

As to the term *kuṇḍalinī*, it is not unknown in Indonesia. It is in fact found in Old Javanese philosophical literature[61], but not in the usual Tantric or *Haṭhayoga* Sanskrit sense of "serpent power". In some texts[62] it is explained as being "a perennial drink". It is moreover usually found in the combination *amṛta kuṇḍalinī*[63], whereas it is not sure whether the presence of the term *amṛta* here should be explained as being the cause or the result of the concept of *kuṇḍalinī* as "a perennial drink".

We may, I believe, fairly conclude that Mr. Sukanto has blended the *kebatinan* concept of *naga gĕni* (for passion is also a power or energy) with the *Haṭhayoga* teaching of *kuṇḍalinī*. The yoga method to release *kuṇḍalinī*, however, he has not adopted, for we have seen that no meditation is involved in *Orhiba* practice.

We should now proceed to consider the following items:

Orhiba	*Haṭhayoga*
1) *Orhiba's* exercises are meant for "men and women, young or old, whether strong or weak, well or ailing"[64], whereas children are not excluded either[65].	*Haṭhayoga* is beneficial to "children, adults and the aged, for the well and the ill, for the poor and the rich"[66].
2) The objcet of *Orhiba* exercises is to return to man his "Basic Right of Life", which means the re-establishment of the "Basic Power of Life" Or "Basic Physical	*Haṭhayoga's* object is to re-establish the "primordial rules of living concerning the human animal", which means giving back to man the bodily condition which would cause

[60] Which should naturally be *sacred bone* or *sacrum*.

[61] Mainly in the *tuturs* (see note 88).

[62] Cf. Goris, 1926, pp. 118ff., quoted in Soebadio, 1971, p. 26. Also *Tutur Sarasvatī* (K 142 or LOr 9162), 4b: *Hana pinakahinuminuman nityakāla. Saṅ Hyaṅ Kuṇḍalinī (ni)ra*.....(There is a perennial drink. It is the sacred *Kuṇḍalinī*...).

[63] Goris, 1926, pp. 118ff.; Soebadio, 1971, p. 26.

[64] *Orhiba* Manual, 1971a, p. 2.

[65] *Orhiba* Manual, 1971b, p. 3.

[66] Wood, 1959, Introduction.

Orhiba	*Haṭhayoga*
Vigour"[67], and thus free him from every kind of illness[68].	him to become as healthy and vigorous as his "inferior brothers" to whom "illness is an exceptional case"[69].
3) *Orhiba* considers its exercises as completely in accordance to or in harmony with Nature[70].	*Haṭhayoga's* fundamental principle is "to live in conformity with Nature"[71].
4) *Orhiba* aims at building up man's physical condition and bringing forth a harmonious union of man and the tripartite universe of body, mind and soul[72].	*Haṭhayoga* pursues the harmonious union of man's physiological functions and their corresponding organs, and also the harmonious union of this physiological life within his natural environment[73].
5) *Orhiba* stresses that its exercises lead not only to physical perfection, but also to mental happiness[74], for only when the body is healthy, can the mind develop equally well[75].	*Haṭhayoga* emphasizes that its training leads not only to a perfect physical condition which is "the key to good health", but also "to that perfect moral balance which is called happiness"[76].
6) The basic rule before starting to perform the *Orhiba* exercises is to stand erect, completely motionless	One of the principle rules of yoga in general is to be able to remain perfectly motionless and refrain

[67] *Orhiba* Manual, 1971b, p. 4.
[68] *Orhiba* Manual, 1971b, p. 4.
[69] Quotations from Guyot, 1965, p. 14.
[70] *Orhiba* Manual, 1971b, p. 4; Sukanto, 1971, p. 5.
[71] Guyot, 1965, p. 11.
[72] Explanation of the *Orhiba* emblem: Man standing erect within three circles.
[73] Guyot, 1965, p. 11.
[74] *Orhiba* Manual, 1971b, Introduction.
[75] Sukanto, 1971, p. 5.
[76] Quotations from Guyot, 1965, p. 17.

Orhiba	*Haṭhayoga*
and at the same time to be mentally perfectly at ease[77].	from being restless in any way[78].
7) Every movement of *Orhiba* gymnastics should be performed consciously by concentrating fully on that part of the body that is being moved. Consistent training is expected to lead to consciousness of the body's movements[79].	*Haṭhayoga* adepts, by means of frequent training and sustained attention "succeed in perceiving.... the particular pulse of each organ"[80].
8) The object of *Orhiba's* breathing exercises is to obtain the "Life Force" as much as possible out of the air. This "Life Force" is essential in revitalizing every cell of the body, and this will keep the healthy body in condition and cause the ailing one to become healthy and vigorous again[81].	The breathing exercises of *Haṭhayoga* (*prāṇāyama*) have the following objects: (a) to cultivate the habitual observance of correct breathing which is essential to the body's health; (b) to cause a kind of medical treatment which is expected to have a beneficial effect on both body and mind[82].
9) Although nowhere explicitly mentioned in the *Orhiba* manual, the constant referring to "revitalizing Forces" which influence	*Haṭhayoga* literature openly declares that its consistent training does influence the preservation of a youthful body and thus will be

[77] *Orhiba* Manual, 1971b, p. 9.
[78] Chrishop, 1957, pp. 20-21; Guyot, 1965, pp. 30-31.
[79] *Orhiba* Manual, 1971b, p. 8.
[80] Quoted from Guyot, 1965, p. 45.
[81] *Orhiba* Manual, 1971b, p. 8.
[82] Behanan, 1959, chapter IX; Chrishop, 1957, chapter VIII; Guyot, 1965, chapter V; Wood, 1959, chapter V; Yesudian, 1963, pp. 81ff.

	Orhiba	*Haṭhayoga*
	the body's condition clearly points to an expectation of being able to preserve youth and thus prolong life[83].	able to prolong life[84].
10)	Once one has started performing the *Orhiba* exercises and has regained one's health, it is of the greatest importance to continue consistently and in the prescribed way. Irregularity or wrong appliance will cause relapse into former illnesses or other disturbances[85].	"By proper practice of *prāṇāyama*, etc., there comes the fading away of all diseases; by adherence to wrong practice there is the arising of all diseases—...."[86].

The parallels mentioned above demonstrate sufficiently that the *Orhiba* views on its physical exercises are comparable with the *Haṭhayoga* concepts, but show likewise clearly that the *Orhiba* conceptions can only be compared with the popular *Haṭhayoga* teaching that accompanies its physical training. *Orhiba's* spiritual concepts in view of its exercises do in no way compare with the more philosophical aspects of yoga conceptions. The reason of it is obviously not only because *Orhiba* thinking is systematically less well organized, but because the ultimate objects differ in principle. *Orhiba* practice, as we have seen, aims at cultivating or achieving health, because a healthy body is considered as a *conditio sine qua non* for the healthy developing of the mind as well. A healthy mind supported by a healthy body, that can cope composedly with life's ups and downs is the right means to attain that spiritual balance which is *Orhiba's* ultimate object. By this *Orhiba* has proved to have remained on the psychological level of *kebatinan*. It has, in other words, remained a way of life and it is not a philosophical system which attempts to find answers to questions pertaining to other possibilities of life in other conditions. As such *Orhiba* has

[83] *Orhiba* Manual, 1971b, p. 8.
[84] Title pages of Chrishop, 1957 and Guyot 1965; also Yesudian, 1963, p. 182.
[85] *Orhiba* Manual, 1971b, p. 10.
[86] Wood, 1959, p. 87, quoting *Haṭhayoga-pradīpikā* 2.16, 17.

also remained on the level of *Haṭhayoga* as it is "limited to the plane of physical nature"[87] and therefore we cannot compare it with the yoga that aims at union with the Absolute. In fact, despite the occasional use of Sanskrit philosophical terms, as we have seen above, Mr. Sukanto gave no evidence of his being at all acquainted with Indian philosophical literature in general and yoga philosophical treatises in particular. His past training of yoga has obviously not exceeded the practical course and, as far as literature is concerned, *Haṭhayoga* popular manuals. To him yoga means *Haṭhayoga.* It is therefore equally evident that he has no knowledge of the Old Javanese literature on Hindu-Javanese yoga conceptions as propounded in, for instance, the *tuturs*[88]. It is, for example, clearly shown in the fact that his views on the importance of breathing are only related to the physical wellbeing of the performer and have no relation whatsoever with Old Javanese yogic rituals of union with the Absolute during life and when dying[89]. The audible breathing has no other object than the forceful emptying and refilling of the lungs. No sacred syllable is pronounced. Indeed, it is for many members the principle reason of *Orhiba's* attraction, that it is easily adaptable to their own religious beliefs, because "no pronouncing of mantras and the like"[90] is involved. And, although Mr. Sukanto very often visits Bali on account of the *Orhiba* activities in that place, he is not aware of, or possibly does not care about, the modern reliving of ancient yoga practice and other rituals as propagated by some Hindu-Balinese groups[91].

On this basis, and in addition to the use of terms like *prāṇa* and *kuṇḍalinī,* the above mentioned parallels with *Haṭhayoga* teachings would seem to conform

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[87] Guyot, 1965, p. 11. Yoga's importance lies in fact also largely in the lsychological field (see Murphy, 1968, pp. 96ff.)

[88] Literature on these texts: Goris, 1926; Hooykaas, 1964 and 1966. Texteditions: Singhal, 1958 and 1962; Soebadio, 1971; Sudarshana Devi, 1957. Buddhist equivalents: Kats, 1910; Sugriwa, 1956. There are at the moment also a number of popularized brochures published by the *Parisada Hindu Dharma* (see note 91).

[89] Extensively in Soebadio, 1971, Chapter V.

[90] Mr. Siregar (see note 43) explaining why he joined *Orhiba.*

[91] The *Parisada Hindu Dharma,* for instance, is engaged in more or less missionary work. They have published popular reading matter and founded centres where people can listen to recitations of ritualistic texts, learn to read Old-Javanese (*mabasan*), have ancient yoga practice explained, and so on. It seems that quite a number of new adherents have become initiated into the Hindu-Balinese fold during the past five years. As a matter of fact, Hindu religious festivals are attended by a surprising number of followers at the moment, both in Bali and elsewhere in Indonesia, but no exact figures of the new Hindus could be shown.

too strikingly to be disposed of as mere coincidence.

We may therefore reasonably conclude that *Orhiba* teachings has developed on the basis of *kebatinan* beliefs as far as it is concerned with a method to attain spiritual balance with a view to adjustment to life, whereas regarding the way it presents its physical exercises as a means to apply this method, it is greatly in sympathy with popular *Haṭhayoga* concepts.

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SOEDARSONO, INDONESIA

RAMA, THE IDEAL HERO AND MANIFESTATION OF THE GOOD IN INDONESIAN THEATRE

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Rāmāyaṇa story was carved in stone reliefs of the ninth century Prambanan temples located exactly on the border between Jogyakarta and Surakarta. A Rāmāyaṇa series is carved beautifully on the inner side of the balustrade wall of the Śiva temple beginning with a scene of the god Viṣṇu enthroned upon the world serpent Ananta up to the moment when the monkey army led by Hanumān crosses the sea to Laṅkā. The story is continued on the Brahmā temple south of the Śiva temple in the Prambanan temple compound. Probably the Rāmāyaṇa epic was translated orally from the Prakrit to Old Javanese sometime before the construction of these Prambanan temples.[1]

From many other reliefs, inscriptions and place names we can see that the Rāmāyaṇa has been important to the Javanese for more than a thousand years. For example, the name Rāma was mentioned in Caṅgal's stone inscription erected in Central Java in A. D. 732. The name Jogyakarta itself (the city was established in 1756) is derived from the name of the capital city of Rāma's kingdom, Ayodhyā.[2] The Jogyakartans still frequently use the name of the

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[1] Claire Holt, *Art in Indonesia: Continuities and Change* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1967), p. 60. There are two theories about the origin of the Prambanan temples: (1) they were built by King Dakṣa (910-919) for his predecessor, King Balitung, or (2) they were built by King Rakai Pikatan in 856 for the funeral ceremonies of his predecessor, King Rakai Patapan. According to Javanese legend the temple complex was built by Bandung Bandawasa on the command of Princess Lara Jonggrang, daughter of King Ratu Baka. The temple is still known as the Lara Jonggrang temple. The stone statue of Durgā Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Śiva's consort, which now stands in the northern chamber of Śiva's temple, is supposed to be Princess Lara Jonggrang who was cursed and turned into stone by Bandung Bandawasa because she had pulled a trick to break his proposal.

[2] The complete name of the city is Ṅayogyakarta Adiniṅrat which consists of four words: Ṅayogya and karta, Adi (niṅ) and rat. Karta means prosperous, adi means beautiful, and rat means the world. The nasal ṅ, meaning in or at, is used by the Javanese preceding names of places beginning with a vowel such as Ṅ-Ambarukma, Ṅ-Aleṅka (Laṅkā), Ṅ-Ayogya. Dya is also pronounced ja such as nedya—neja etc.; Ṅ-Ayodhya, Ṅ-Ayogya, Ṅ-Ayoja. In the Giyanti chronicle the name of Ayogya was introduced by King Paku Buwana II (see *Kota Jogiakarta 200 Tahun* 'Jogyakarta City, Two Hundred Years', 1956, p. 115).

city in the original, i. e. Ṅayogya or Ṅayoja, which actually is a Javanese spelling of Ayodhyā. The name of the Praga River located in Jogyakarta province is derived from Prayāga River which is mentioned in Book II of Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa.[3] Similarly there is the Sarayū River (pronounced Serayu), also in Central Java in the region of Banyumas.[4] The name of the town Situbanda in East Java comes from Setubandha, and the Cave Kiskenda in Central Java derives its name from Kiṣkindhā.[5]

Along with the Rāmāyaṇa, the other famous Indian epic, the Mahābhārata, has also long been known to the Javanese. For example, the story of Bimmaya Kumara is recorded as performed as puppet theater in the copper plate inscription issued by King Balitung in A.D. 907. It is a story about Bhīma, the second brother of the five Pāṇḍavas.[6] From the references which are available it appears that the Rāmāyaṇa was more popular than the Mahābhārata in these Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms of VIII-X century Central Java.

When the Hindu-Javanese political and cultural center moved to East Java in the tenth century, the people preserved and cherished the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata traditions. At the same time they added a repertoire of original Javanese stories such as the Panji, Damarwulan, Calonarang, and the Kidung Sunda during the second half of the Majapahit period in East Java. We find scenes of the Rāmāyaṇa carved on the base of the Panataran temple in East Java (12th to 15th centuries), beginning with Hanumān's mission to Laṅkā as a scout and ending with the death of Kumbhakarṇa, Rāvaṇa's brother. It is interesting that the Panataran reliefs are depicted in almost two-dimensional manner, their stylized shapes being a prototype of the present-day leather shadow puppets particularly resembling the puppets used in Bali today. The even more highly stylized shape of Javanese leather puppets was probably caused by the Islamic proscription against the portrayal of the human form in art.[7] In fact during the Islamic period beginning in the sixteenth century, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata became increasingly

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[3] Romesh C. Dutt, *The Ramayana and the Mahabharata* (London & New York: Everyman's Library, 1969), p. 44.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

[5] Interview with Sutrisno, July 15, 1971; also *ibid.*, p. 90.

[6] F. H. van Naerssen, 'Twee koperen oorkonde van Balitung in het Koloniaal Instituut te Amsterdam', *B. K. I.* 95 (1937), pp. 441-461.

[7] James R. Brandon, *On Thrones of Gold: Three Javanese Shadow Plays* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1970), p. 6.

popular, especially through the medium of the leather shadow puppet play.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, it seems, the Mahābhārata was preferred to the Rāmāyaṇa for performances in the courts of the Central Javanese kings and mansions of the nobility.[8] I suspect that the preference was not only because the Mahābhārata creatively inspired new stories. It also reflected the political conditions at that time. The Dutch had divided the Mataram kingdom into two—Surakarta and Jogyakarta—for the two brothers Sunan Paku Buwana III and Sultan Hamengku Buwana I in 1755. By the eighteenth century stories based on the Mahābhārata were being performed both through the leather shadow puppet play and through dance drama. The performances always depicted a conflict between the five Pāṇḍava brothers and the hundred Kauravas, with the intervention of a third party who was considered foreign (Javanese: *Sabrangan*), supposedly the Dutch. Only in the twentieth century has the Rāmāyaṇa become popular again in Central Java.

Balinese culture was much influenced by the Javanese from the tenth century to the fifteenth century. So it is not surprising that most themes of Balinese dance drama are Javanese stories such as the Panji, Calonarang, Gajah Mada, Ranggalawe, etc.[9] and Javanese versions of the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. In the whole of Indonesia it is only on this small island of Bali, some 2100 square miles in area, that Hinduism has survived up to the present. Balinese culture is a mixed culture of Hindu-Javanese and indigenous Balinese elements.

West Java (Sunda or Pasundan) was Hinduized beginning about the fourth century, and Islamized by Central Java in the sixteenth century. Since then Central Javanese influence has made a deep impression on the culture of West Java, as well, especially on the puppet play, dance and music.

In these four regions then—Central Java, East Java, Bali, and West Java—the traditional theaters which present the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, and folk legends have been well developed. In addition, in Bali and in Central Java, we find the tradition of reciting stories from the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata continuing down to the present day.

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[8] Soedarsono, Drama Tari Rāmāyaṇa Gaja Jogyakarta (The Rāmāyaṇa Dance Drama Jogyakarta Style), a paper submitted to the National Seminar on the Rāmāyaṇa, 16th to 18th September, 1970, in Jogyakarta, p. 1.

[9] Soedarsono, *Dance Drama in Java and Bali*. A lecture at the University of Michigan, May 1, 1971 (stencilled by Wesleyan University), p. 4.

II. RĀMA IN LEATHER PUPPET AND DANCE DRAMA

Vālmīki describes Rāma as:

Soft in speech, sedate and peaceful,
seeking still the holy path,
Calm in conscious worth and valour,
taunt nor cavil waked his wrath,
.....
Faithful to the wise and learned,
truthful in his deed and word,
Rama dearly loved his people
and his people loved their lord.[10]

Though the Javanese Rāmāyaṇa is close to the Indian Rāvaṇavadha from the seventh century A. D., the ideal Javanese Rāma is exactly as Vālmīki pictured him.

In Java the story of Rāma was first written by a poet who composed the *Rāmāyaṇa Kakavin* (Rāmāyaṇa poem) probably the oldest Old Javanese literary work dating from the beginning of the tenth century.[11] This poem is far from a mere translation of the Indian epic. The poet appears to have drawn on other sources as well, and to have drawn deeply from his own imagination. The *Rāmāyaṇa Kakavin* is not only the oldest but also the longest poem in Old Javanese literature.[12]

Working with the *Rāmāyaṇa Kakavin*, the famous nineteenth century Javanese poet Jasadipura I composed a new version of the Javanese Rāmāyaṇa, the *Serat Rama.* The present-day Javanese stories from the Rāmāyaṇa are performed primarily by leather puppets and dance drama based on Jasadipura's version. Examples of stories from Jasadipura's Rāmāyaṇa are *Rama Nitis* (The Incarnation of Rāma), *Rama Gandrung* (Rāma Madly in Love), *Rama Tambak* (Rāma Builds a Bridge to Laṅkā) and many more. There are three other versions of the Rāmāyaṇa in Indonesia: the *Serat Kanda*, *Rama Keling*, and *Hikajat Seri Rama*. In sum, there are about two hundred stories of Rāma taken originally either from the Sanskrit or Prakrit versions.[13]

As to the leather shadow puppet play itself, most scholars suggest that it was originally part of a religious ceremony of ancestor worship indigenous to

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[10] Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 14-15.

[11] R. M. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, *Kapustakan Djawi* (Javanese Literary Works), Fourth edition (Djakarta: Penerbit Djambatan, 1964), p. 2.

[12] Holt, *op. cit.*, p. 267. The Rāmāyaṇa Kakavin consists of 2,774 stanzas.

[13] Interview with R. M. Sri Handajakusuma, A. Ikram, and Sutrisno July 16, 1971.

the Indonesian archipelago and dating from the prehistoric period.[14]

The earliest record confirming the existence of the shadow puppet or wayang play in Central Java dates from A. D. 907 carved in Balitung's copper plate inscription;[15] while in Bali it dates from A. D. 896 carved in a copper plate inscription which is now housed at the village of Bebetin. Although there is no further information about the stories performed in the puppet plays, it is quite possible that the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata were the only stories presented at that time. Hinduism and the Indian epics were so deeply rooted in Java that they considered Indian heroes of the epics to be their own ancestors.[16]

The Javanese leather shadow puppet play (Indonesian and Javanese: *wayang kulit purwa*) has many meanings—religious, ritual, mystical, and symbolic. But the most common interpretation is that the stories performed symbolize the conflict between good and evil, between the Javanese ancestor heroes (Rāma and the Pāṇḍavas) and their enemies. In the Rāmāyaṇa the conflict is pictured in the fight between Rāma the good and Rāvaṇa the evil, and in the Mahābhārata between the Pāṇḍavas, the right, and the Kauravas, the wrong.

In the puppet play Rāma is depicted as a beautiful, refined, and humble hero (Javanese: *alus luruh* or *lijepan*). The puppet is small, slender, with half-closed eyes and bowed face. He speaks in a low and soft voice, being exactly the Rāma who is described by Vālmīki. Only in size the Javanese Rāma differs from the Indian. According to Javanese philosophy, inner self-control is considered to be the character of the ideal hero. His mastery of himself reflects in his mastery of everything. Another hero of the Rāma type is Arjuna from the Mahābhārata.

In contrast Rāvaṇa the evil is described as rough and violent with flat face and exposed gums. He is large and muscular. He speaks in a loud and coarse voice. He is physically strong but lacks self-mastery and is overpowered by his uncontrollable passions. The other bad characters of Rāvaṇa type are the Kauravas such as Durśāsana and Burisrawa.

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[14] G. A.J. Hazeu, *Bijdrage tot de kennis van het Janaansche tooneel* 'A Contribution toward Understanding the Javanese Theater' (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1897). Rassers has another theory which actually is not far from Hazeu's theory. In his book entitled *Pandji, The Culture Hero: A Structural Study of Religion in Java* he says that the Javanese puppet play is one of the indigenous initiation rites for men. There are many other scholars who have written about wayang including J. Kats, H.H. Juynboll, C. Poensen, Serrurier, R.L. Mellema, Prince Mangkùnegoro VII, Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, and James R. Brandon.

[15] Holt, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

[16] Soedarsono, *Wayang Kulit*, p. 3.

As I mentioned above, the Javanese considered the heroes of both the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata to be their ancestors. So it is not surprising that the Javanese have created new stories combining the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, for example the *Rama Nitis* (Incarnation of Rāma). In the *Rama Nitis* Rāma incarnates in Kresna, adviser and helper of the Pāṇḍavas, and Lakṣmaṇa incarnates in Arjuna, the greatest hero of the Mahābhārata.

Since Javanese dance drama (Indonesian and Javanese: wayang wong) is a personification of the puppet play, the characterization of the dance drama is just the same as the puppet play.[17] Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Kresna, and Arjuna are danced by beautiful, small and slender men. While Rāvaṇa, Durśāsana and Burisrawa are danced by tall and muscular men.

Before World War II stories from the Mahābhārata were more popular than the Rāmāyaṇa both in the puppet play and dance drama.[18] It was a reflection of the rivalry between the two Central Javanese kingdoms, Surakarta and Jogjakarta. But since Indonesian Independence in 1945, the Rāmāyaṇa has become increasingly popular, culminating during the sixties in the creation of the Rāmāyaṇa dance pantomime. It is performed in the new Prambanan amphitheater located in front of the ninth-century Prambanan temples which I described at the beginning of this paper.[19]

III. RĀMA IS MORE HUMAN

As in India, the Javanese also consider Rāma and Kresna to be incarnations of Viṣṇu, god of preservation. Viṣṇu incarnates in Rāma in order to destroy King Rāvaṇa, the evil; Viṣṇu incarnates in Kresna to advise and help the Pāṇḍavas regain their kingdom from the Kauravas, the wrong.

But there is one particular characteristic of the Hindu-Javanese Rāma and Kresna which distinguishes them from their Indian counterparts: they are more human than godlike, and indeed they are regarded as the ancestors of the Javanese.

In India the Rāmāyaṇa is a living faith as well as a living tradition. It forms the basis of the moral instruction of the nation. Indians see the

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[17] Soedarsono, 'Classical Javanese Dance: History and Characterization', Journal of the Society for Ethnomusicology, XIII:3 (September, 1969), p. 500.

[18] In 1890 a form of squatting Rāmāyaṇa dance opera was also developed for performance outside the palace in Jogyakarta.

[19] Soeharso, F.I.C.S., 'Sendratari Ramayana Roro Djonggrang' (The Roro Djonggrang Ramayana Dance Pantomime), *Laporan Seminar Sendratari Ramayana Nasional 1970, 16 s/d 18 September* (Jogjakarta: Panitia Penjelenggara Seminar Sendratari Ramayana, 1970), p. 1.

Rāmāyaṇa acted on the stage at religious festivals and recited in homes. Rāma, the true and dutiful, is regarded as the Spirit of God descended on earth, as an incarnation of Viṣṇu the preserver of the world.[20]

Viṣṇu also incarnates in Kṛṣṇa, the advisor and helper of the Pāṇḍavas. So, it is not surprising that in India, along with the cult of Rāma, there is also the cult of Kṛṣṇa, or the Bhakti of Kṛṣṇa, which is embraced by the common people. Rādhā's sexual passion pictures the soul's longing for union with Kṛṣṇa. The gopīs naked represent the soul's purity while waiting for the grace of the deity to call for their devotion. The purpose of living may be seen in tangible terms where: "In the embrace of his beloved, a man forgets the whole world, everything both within and without; in the same way, he who embraces the Self knows neither within nor without".[21]

In Java there is neither a cult of Rāma nor of Kresna. Though Rāma is considered to be the incarnation of Viṣṇu, he is more human. Rāma is pictured more as the ideal hero, the self-controlled prince, possessing full mastery. But since he is a human being, he can also lose mastery of himself, as in the story of *Rama Gandrung* (Rāma Madly in Love). After the abduction of his beloved wife, he weaps and weaps, wandering in the forests.

The Javanese adore Rāma as the ideal type of man, consciously or unconsciously. This is particularly clear from the use of the term Rāma in Javanese (Romo). Rāma means father in high Javanese, and it also means father referring to the Catholic clergy.[22] The Javanese are patriarchal regarding father as the protector, advisor, and preserver of the family. Hence he is given the honorific name Rāma, which is still common among the nobility. And I assume by analogy the Catholics use the term Rāma to refer to the Catholic priests as the protectors, the advisors, and the preservers of the Catholic Church.[23]

IV. PERFORMANCE OF THE RĀMĀYAṆA DANCE DRAMA

Among the three thousand islands of Indonesia, only Java and Bali have a living Rāmāyaṇa tradition of dance drama.[24] There are four kinds of dance

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[20] Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

[21] W.G. Archer, *The Loves of Krishna* (New York: Grove Press, Inc.), p. 72.

[22] Literally the Javanese word Rāma comes from the honorific prefix *Ra* and *ama* meaning father. But in practice the Javanese nobility use the word Rāma referring to father out of their deep love for Rāma, the protector, the advisor, and the preserver.

[23] In an interview June 18, 1970 Pater Hardowirjono agreed with this conjecture.

[24] Soedarsono, *Dance Drama in Java and Bali* p. 1.

drama for portraying the Rāmāyaṇa in Java: masked dance drama, dance drama with dialogue of prose, dance opera, and dance pantomime. In Bali there are five: masked dance drama, Prembon dance drama, dance opera, Chak dance drama and dance pantomime.[25]

Javanese Masked Dance Drama. Masked dance drama is the oldest dance drama which has already been mentioned in the twelfth-century book Sumanasāntaka named *wayang wwang*, performing stories from the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. Since the fourteenth century it has been called by various terms: *raket*, *sori-tekes*, *atapukun*, or *patapelan* (for the Panji legends). Now this masked dance drama is called *wayang topeng* or *wayang wong topeng*.[26]

Javanese Dance Drama with Dialogue of Prose. Javanese dance drama with dialogue of prose (*wayang wong*) is a court dance drama created by Sultan Hamengku Buwana I of Jogjakarta and Prince Mangkunegara I of Mangkunegaran-Surakarta in the second half of the eighteenth century.[27] The stories are mostly from the Mahābhārata, and only in the latest developments in the twentieth century has it also been used to perform stories from the Rāmāyaṇa.[28]

Javanese Dance Opera. The Rāmāyaṇa dance opera called *Langen Mandra Wanara* was created by Prince Danureja VII, vizier of Jogjakarta sultanate in the nineteenth century. This dance opera is performed in a squatting position.[29] But since the first half of the twentieth century some groups have performed in a standing position following the same style as the *wayang wong*.[30]

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[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 2-7.

[26] Soedarsono, *Drama Tari Ramayana Gaja Jogjakarta* (Rāmāyaṇa Dance Drama Jogjakarta Style), p. 153; B. Schrieke, 'Wajang Wong', Djawa IX (1929), p. 5; Ki J. Padmapuspita, *Pararaton* (Jogjakarta: Taman Siswa, 1966), p. 37 and p. 83; see also Holt, op. cit., pp. 284 and 289; Th. Pigeaud, *Javanese volksvertoningen* (Javanese Folk Theaters) (Batavia: Volkslectuur, 1938), pp. 496 and 503; C.C. Berg, *Inleiding tot de studie van het Oud Javaansch* (Introduction to the Study of Old Javanese) (Surakarta: De Blixem, 1928), p. 65.

[27] Th. B. van Lelyveld, De Javaansche danskunst (The Javanese Dance Art) (Amsterdam: van Holkema & Warendorf's Uitgevers, 1931), p. 86; H.H. Juynboll, *Het Javaansche tooneel* (The Javanese Theatre) (Baarn: Hollandia Drukkerij, 1915), p. 22; Pigeaud, 'Wajang wong', p. 7 Pangeran Soerjodiningrat, 'De ontwakende cultuur van Java' (The Revived Culture of Java), *Indisch Genootschaap vergadering van 18 Juni 1926*, p. 52.

[28] Soedarsono, *Drama Tari Ramayana Gaja Jogjakarta* (Rāmāyaṇa Dance Drama Jogjakarta Style), p. 150.

[29] Lelyveld, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[30] Soedarsono, *Dance Drama in Java and Bali*, p. 3.

Javanese Dance Pantomime. The Rāmāyaṇa dance pantomime called *Sendratari Ramayana* was created by Prince Jatikusuma of Surakarta in 1961 as a successful experiment to bridge the gap to the non-Javanese audience. The style of the dance technique is basically Surakarta, with elements from Jogjakarta, Sunda and Bali. The dialogue is replaced by hand gestures and facial expressions.[31] In its further development the stories have not been limited to the Rāmāyaṇa, but have been drawn from the Mahābhārata, Javanese chronicles, legends, and also historical drama. A huge amphitheater was built for this Rāmāyaṇa dance pantomime in front of the Prambanan temples in Jogjakarta. Since 1961 there has been a four-night performance around the full moon every month from June through October.[32]

Sundanese Masked Dance Pantomime. In West Java there was Rāmāyaṇa masked dance drama named *wayang wong* or *topeng dalang* dating from the sixteenth century. In 1971 some younger choreographers revived that Rāmāyaṇa tradition in a new form, based on Cirebon's masked dance and the *Pencak*, a self-defence art.[33]

Balinese Masked Dance Drama. In Bali the Rāmāyaṇa masked dance drama is called *wayang wong,* in which all the dancers wear a full mask. The dancers also deliver the dialogues. The clowns (Balinese: *panakawan* or *parekan*) play a very important role, telling the story and also commenting on the scenes.[34] They are not only the servants and advisors of a hero or a king, but also function as commentators on the drama. Rāma's clown servants are Tualen and Merdah, while Rāvaṇa's clown servants are Delem and Sangut.[35] Balinese *wayang wong* dates from the sixteenth century.

Balinese Prembon Dance Drama. Prembon is a combination of several ele-

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[31] *Ibid.;* also based on interviews with R.T. Kusumokesowo, R.T. Kusumotenoyo, and Martopangrawit, July 16, 1971.

[32] Sceharso, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[33] Interview with Zaini K.M., Karna Yudibrata, and Aca, July 15, 1971. In 1970 Maman Suriaatmaja choreographed a Sundanese Rāmāyaṇa dance pantomime; see Maman Suriaatmaja and Aca, 'Drama Tari Ramayana Gaya Sunda' (Rāmāyaṇa Dance Drama Sundanese Style), *Laporan Seminar Sendratari Ramayana Nasional 1970, 16 s/d 18 September* (Jogjakarta: Panitia Penjelenggara Seminar Sendratari Ramayana, 1970), pp. 219-246.

[34] Ig. B.N. Pandji, 'Drama Tari Ramayana Gaya Bali' (Rāmāyaṇa Dance Drama Balinese Style), *Laporan Seminar Sendratari Ramayana Nasional 1970, 16 s/d 18 September* (Jogjakarta: Panitia Penjelenggara Seminar Sendratari Ramayana, 1970), p. 267; Soedarsono, *Dance Drama in Java and Bali*, p. 5.

[35] Beryl de Zoete and Walter Spies, *Dance and Drama in Bali* (London: Faber and Faber Limited), p. 156.

ments of Balinese dance dramas from the ancient *Gambuh* to the *Parwa*. It is the most flexible dance drama form for presenting any kind of stories including the Rāmāyaṇa. *Prembon* was created during the 1940's.[36]

Balinese Dance Opera. The very popular Balinese dance opera *Arja* dates from the seventeenth century. At the beginning it only presented the Panji romances, but since 1965 it has also used the Rāmāyaṇa.[37]

Balinese Chak Dance Drama. Balinese Chak dance drama, which depicts stories from the Rāmāyaṇa, is a new development based on an ancient Balinese drama form from the twelfth century which also developed into the male chorus of the Sanghyang dance.[38] The outstanding characteristic of the *Chak* is that the dancing is not accompanied by music (gamelan) but by a male chorus (*the Chak*). The male chorus, numbering one hundred or more, chants a rhythmical song: "ke-tjak, ke-tjak, ke-tjak.....", raising their trembling hands also representing the monkey soldiers of King Sugrīva, ally of Prince Rāma.[39]

Balinese Dance Pantomime. Rāmāyaṇa dance pantomime is the newest form of Balinese dance drama dating from 1965. It was created by a composer and choreographer named Wayan Beratha especially to reach the non-Balinese audience.[40]

Modern Rāmāyaṇa Dance Drama. A couple of years ago a modern Rāmāyaṇa dance drama *Samgita* was created in Jakarta by a young choreographer Sardono W. Kusumo. Its dance techniques, costumes, and also its musical accompaniment depart from the traditional patterns.[41]

V. GAMELAN

All Javanese, Sundanese, and Balinese dances are accompanied by the gamelan orchestra, large or small, except the Balinese Chak dance drama which is accompanied by a male chorus.

The word gamelan, referring to a musical ensemble, was mentioned as

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[36] Pandji, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

[37] Interview with Ig. B.N. Pandji, July 15, 1971.

[38] Interview with Pandji, July 15, 1971.

[39] Soedarsono, *Dance Drama in Java and Bali*, p. 7.

[40] Pandji, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

[41] S.D. Humardani, 'Sendratari Ramayana Prambanan Gaja Lama: Kedudukannja Dalam Perkembangan Seni Tari Kita' (Rāmāyaṇa Prambanan Dance Pantomime Old Style: Its Role in the Development of Our Dance Art), *Laporan Seminar Sendratari Ramayana Nasional 1970, 16 s/d 18 September* (Jogjakarta Panitia Penjelenggara Seminar Sendratari Ramayana, 1970), p. 127.

early as 1365 in the Javanese court chronicles *Nāgarakertagama*.[42] The word gamelan itself is derived from the Javanese root *gamel* or Balinese *gambel* meaning hammer. Gamelan or gambelan is a traditional music ensemble consisting mostly of percussion instruments.[43]

While we have a written record confirming the existence of the gamelan by 1365, most of the gamelan instruments were already depicted in stone reliefs five centuries before, on the Borobudur temple built during the ninth century. Instruments depicted in the Borobudur reliefs include many which are similar to Javanese and Balinese gamelan instruments today: many two-headed drums with strap tension (not the sliding rings like some Balinese drums); the *saron* which looks like the present-day Javanese and ancient Balinese *saron*; a xylophone, something between a wooden *gambang* and a *chalung*; cymbals which have a prominent role in Balinese music; *bonang* kettles; *kenong* kettles; and flutes. There are also numerous instruments which no longer are found in the present-day gamelan such as the shell-trumpets, bronze bells, lutes, zethers, and harps.[44] According to Jaap Kunst there is some proof for the existence of every currently known gamelan instrument during the Hindu-Javanese period, except for the *rebab*.[45]

During the Hindu-Javanese period these musical instruments played war music and also accompanied religious festivities.

There are still some ancient gamelans which are preserved in the Central Javanese courts such as the *Gamelan Munggang* and *Gamelan Kodok Ngorek* from the fourteenth century, both close to the slendro scale, except for the *Gamelan Munggang* from Surakarta which is close to pelog scale. Both gamelans have three tones, and they are essentially made up of five kinds of musical instruments.[46] In Surakarta there is another ancient gamelan named *Gamelan Carabalen* which is close to pelog scale, has four tones, and probably dates from the fourteenth century.[47]

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[42] Jaap Kunst, *Music in Java: Its History, Its Theory and Its Techniques* vol. I (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1949), p. 112.

[43] *Ibid.*; also Colin McPhee, *Music in Bali: A Study in Form and Instrument Organization in Balinese Orchestral Music* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1966), p. 25.

[44] Kunst, *op. cit.*, p. 106-107.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 113.

[46] R.M. Wasisto Surjodiningrat, *Gamelan, Tari dan Wajang di Jogjakarta* (Gamelan Music, Dance and Shadow Play in Jogjakarta) (Jogjakarta: Universitas Gadjah Mada, 1970), p. 12-13.

[47] Interview with R.M. Sri Hanojokusumo, July 25, 1971.

Gamelan Sekati from the sixteenth century Islamic period is still played today but only to celebrate the birth and death of the Prophet Mohammad. The gamelan is seven-tone pelog scale and is preserved in Central Javanese courts of Jogyakarta and Surakarta and in the West Javanese courts of Cirebon. There are some other ancient gamelans in West Java, the *Gamelan Kodok Ngorek*, *Gamelan Gala Ganjur*, *Gamelan Renteng*, and *Gamelan Degung*.[48] *Gamelan Degung* is still being played today.

The present-day Javanese gamelan is a huge ensemble consisting of two sets of instruments, one slendro and one pelog.[49] A complete Javanese gamelan (slendro and pelog) includes: three *gender barung*, three *gender penerus*, two *gender penembung* or *slentem*, three *gambang*,two *clempung*, two *clempung peking*, two *rebab*, two *suling*, one *kendang gending*, one *kendang ketipung*, one *kendang batangan*, two *bonang penembung*, two *bonang barung*, two *bonang penerus*, four *saron demung*, eight *saron ricik*, four *saron peking*, two sets of *ketuk kenong*, two sets of *kempul*, two *gong suwukan*, two big *gong*, and one *bedug*. Formerly there were also *gambang gangsa*, *kecor*, *kemanak*, *engkuk-kemong*, and *rojeh*. A complete Javanese gamelan, slendro and pelog, is about sixty pieces, consisting of about twenty-seven kinds.

The Javanese Rāmāyaṇa dance drama is always accompanied by a gamelan ensemble, either large or small, either slendro or pelog, or both. The Rāmāyaṇa dance opera is mostly accompanied by the slendro alone.

The present-day West Javanese or Sundanese gamelan is almost the same as the Central Javanese gamelan. The main distinction between the two is in playing techniques, especially the drums. In West Java a drummer plays with both hands, his heel, and also wooden sticks. A complete Sundanese gamelan, slendro and pelog, consists of two *kolenang*, two *rincik*, two *jengglong*, two *peking* or *titil*, two *saron*, two *penerus*, two *penembung*, two *gambang*, three or four *kulanter*, one *kendang*, one *kendang indung*, one *bedug*, one *kamanak*, two *kempyang*, two *ketuk*, two *kenong*, two *kempul*, two *gong*, one *rebab*, one *suling*. So a complete Sundanese gamelan, slendro and pelog, is about thirty-five instruments, con-

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[48] Interview with R. Saleh, July 21, 1971.

[49] K.H. Dewantara in his book entitled Kebudaja/Culture (Jogjakarta: Madjelis-Luhur Persatuan Taman Siswa, 1967), p. 207, says that the slendro scale is older than the pelog scale; Jaap Kunst suggests that the seven-tone pelog gamelan is older than the five-tone slendro. Pelog was introduced by the Malay-Polynesian people during the pre-Hindu period. Slendro was introduced by the Śailendras at least as early as the eighth century. R.M.A. Koesoemadinata, an expert on Sundanese gamelan, partially agrees with Dewantara's theory, and partially agrees with Kunst's theory. In an interview July 18, 1971, he said that vocally the slendro scale is older than the pelog, but instrumentally the pelog is older than the slendro.

sisting of about twenty instruments.[50] In 1968, R. M. A. Koesoemadinata arranged a larger Sundanese gamelan in slendro and pelog called the Gamelan ki Pembayun.[51]

In Bali both ancient and new gamelans are played side by side in religious festivities. Every Balinese gamelan has its own scale system, but in general they may be divided into two groups, the slendro and the pelog like the Javanese gamelan. Though historically the Balinese gamelan has the same origin as the Javanese gamelan, the music of Bali today is as different from the Javanese, to use Colin McPhee's description, as night and day: ".....Javanese gamelan is soft, shockless resonance....In strong contrast Balinese gamelan stands out dramatically in its hard metallic vitality and the almost feverish intensity with which the never music is performed".[52]

There is one particularly distinctive characteristic of Balinese music namely, the interlocking patterns of rhythm. There are some Balinese gamelans which are considered ancient and sacred such as the *Gamelan Selundeng* from the twelfth century, the *Gamelan Gong Luang*, *Gamelan Gambang*, and *Gamelan Caruk*.[53] There is a new Balinese gamelan, named *Gamelan Gong Kebyar* and numerous gamelans played for very specific religious ceremonies and restricted to particular villages, such as the *Gamelan Gambuh, Gamelan Arja, Gamelan Bebonangan, Gamelan Angklung, Gamelan Semar Pegulingan, Gamelan Gong Gede, Gamelan Palegongan, Gamelan Saron, Gamelan Grantang, Gamelan Gong Suling*, and *Gamelan Gender Wayang*. Gamelan Gender Wayang accompanies the leather shadow puppet play. Every village has its own gamelan, most often the *Gamelan Gong Kebyar*, which accompanies dance and dance drama. *Gamelan Gong Kebyar* consists of many kinds of instruments such as *gender, jegogan, jublag, calung, reong, terompong, kajar, kempli, klenang, kempur, gong, ceng-ceng*, and *kendang*. A complete Balinese gamelan is played by around forty musicians.

VI. SUMMARY

Rāmāyaṇa theatre has existed in Indonesia as shadow puppet play and dance drama since the tenth century. Stories of the Rāmāyaṇa came originally from India. Although the Indonesian puppet play and dance drama consider Rāma to be an incarnation of Viṣṇu, he is depicted as more human than godlike.

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[50] Interview with R.M.A. Koesoemadinata and Mang Koko, July 18, 1971.

[51] *Ibid.*

[52] McPhee, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 26; also interview with Ig. B.N. Pandji, July 15, 1971.

Indonesian's love for the Rāmāyaṇa has taken many forms, such as the adaptation of place names. Jogyakarta is a Javanese form of Ayodhyā; Praga River can be identified with the Prayāga River; Situbanda with Setubandha; and the Cave Kiskenda with Kiṣkindhā. The love for Rāma is shown by the use of the word Rāma is Javanese referring to father and to the Catholic priests. Rāma means the protector, the advisor, and the preserver.

There are many dance drama forms of the Rāmāyaṇa in Indonesia: masked dance drama, dance drama with dialogue of prose, dance opera, dance pantomime, dance pantomime accompanied by male chorus, masked dance pantomime, and modern dance drama. All these dance drama forms are accompanied by gamelan music, except the *Chak* which is only accompanied by a male chorus.

Our first record of the term gamelan in Indonesia is from the fourteenth century, yet, almost all of the Javanese, Sundanese and Balinese gamelan instruments are represented in the reliefs of the ninth century Borobudur temples.

As to the question of Indian influence on Indonesian traditional theater, it is clear that there is some, particularly in the creative sources of the Rāmāyaṇa legends. But the art forms themselves—the stories and characterizations, the puppet play and dance drama, the gamelan accompaniment—are uniquely Indonesian creations.

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SANSKRIT IN MODERN INDONESIA

It is well-known that scholars in the field of Indology, both Indonesians as well as foreigners, have shown how Indonesia was much indebted to India, when the latter spread its cultural heritage to these countries since the beginning of the Christian era.

Amongst the Indian scholars, the names of Dr. Bijan Raj Chatterjee[1], Dr. R. C. Majumdar[2], Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra[3] and Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri[4] can be mentioned as scholars whose scholarly interpretations show, how Indian cultural values were brought to Indonesia. On the side of the European scholars—to mention only a few examples—the names of Dr. N. Krom[5], Dr. W. F. Stutterheim[6], G. Coedès[7] and H. G. Quaritch Wales[8] are inseparable from the studies of Indo-Indonesian relations. Among the Indonesian scholars themselves, the name of the late Prof. Dr. Poerbatjaraka[9] who made profound studies of Indo-Indonesian relations in the field of archaeology, literature and religion can be mentioned without any hesitation; he is considered to be the pioneer among the Indonesians who are impressed by the cultural heritage of India.

I should like to mention the name of Prof. Dr. J. Gonda of the Utrecht University in Netherland, who besides being a famous Sanskritist is simultaneously a scholar of Indonesian studies, especially in the field of Indonesian linguis-

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[1] Dr. Bijan Raj Chatterjee, *India and Java.* Greater India Society. Bulletin No. 3, Calcutta 1933.

[2] Dr. R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient Indian colonies in the Far East. Suvarṇadvīpa.* Volume II, Part 1. Volume II, Part 2.

[3] Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, *Expansion of Indo-Aryan rule durtng Pallava rule,* Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters I. 1935.

[4] K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *History of Srivijaya,* University of Madras 1949.

[5] Dr. N. J. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis* (*Indo-Javanese History*), 's-Gravenhage 1931, second revised edition.

[6] Dr. W. F. Stutterheim, *Indian influences in the lands of the Pacific,* Royal Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences, Weltevreden.

[7] G. Coedes, *Les états hindouisés d'Indo-Chine et d'Indonesia,* Paris 1948.

[8] H. G. Quaritch Wales, *The Making of Greater India,* London 1951.

[9] R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka (Lesya), *Agastya in den Archipel,* Thesis Leyden 1926.

tics and literature. On account of this, it is not surprising to know that this Dutch scholar who can use Sanskrit sources from India as well as linguistic sources from Indonesia has been successful in reconstructing the historical role of Sanskrit in Indonesia which was published in Prof. Raghu Vira's Sarasvati Vihara Series Volume 28 under the title: Sanskrit in Indonesia[10].

Although the work of Prof. Dr. J. Gonda is still important as a source of information for scholars who like to know how was the role played by Sanskrit in the development of Indonesian culture, this work which was published in 1952 and which was based on research from the times of pre-independent Indonesia cannot any more be up-to-date. I should, therefore, like to add some more points which concern with the role of Sanskrit in the development of Bahasa Indonesia i. e. the national language of Indonesia. Bahasa Indonesia as the national language of Indonesia was adopted formally in 1928, when during the National Indonesian Youth Congress, the delegates of that Congress took the oath that: (1) The Indonesian people form one nation, that is the Indonesian nation, (2) The Indonesian nation has one motherland, that is Indonesia, and (3) The Indonesian nation has one language, that is Bahasa Indonesia.

After 1928, Bahasa Indonesia became a tool of the revolutionary movement and many writers as well as many politicians were starting with the difficult task of expressing themselves in their respective activities through the medium of the Indonesian national language. In the beginning it was indeed very hard to use Bahasa Indonesia which originated from the Malay language as a tool for the expression of the modern Indonesian mind at those times. Originally Malay language in Indonesia was used only to express the mind of a static and an undeveloped society. On the contrary, the Indonesian mind in 1928 which had already been stirred by revolutionary ideas to establish a new and independent Indonesia, Bahasa Indonesia as the national language had to develop rapidly, if it was not to be left far behind by the Dutch language, i. e. the language of the colonialists which had already a high degree of development in all fields of cultural expressions.

Historically speaking, it was not the first time that the Malay language and other regional languages in Indonesia, such as the Javanese language of Java, the Balinese language of Bali, the Maksarese language of South Celebes were affected by foreign influences. In the history of Indonesia, there are indications that Old Malay, that was the literary language of ancient Sumatra from

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[10] J. Gonda, *Sanskrit in Indonesia,* Nagpur 1952.

about the 7th century A. D.[11] and the Old-Javanese language, that was the literary language of ancient Java[12] had already borrowed a lot of Sanskrit words in the fields of philosophical, religious and political ideas, such as *vajra-śarīra* (diamond body), *anupama śakti* (unequalled power), *jātismara* (previous birth), *awikalendriya* (unimpaired senses), *janma* (birth), *karma* (work), *kleśa* (pain), *anuttarābhisamyaksambodhi* (the complete and supreme illumination)[13] and so on. Since these philosophical terms appear on an Old Malay inscription dated 684 A. D., influence of Sanskrit on Old Malay language can be traced back as early as the 7th century A. D. However, since the 15th and 16th centuries[14] when Malay became the language for literary expression of Islamic religious ideas, it started a lot of Arabic and Persian words. This was also the case with Old-Javanese and New Javanese, one of the regional languages in Indonesia with a long literary history[15], which showed to have influence from both Sanskrit and Arabic-Muslim literature.

Although Bahasa Indonesia faced many difficulties when it was used as a tool for the expression of the modern Indonesian mind, this new language which historically speaking was based on the Malay language with historical and linguistic relations, either with Sanskrit or Arabic, was able to get rid of these infantile difficulties. Five years after the time when the delegates of the National Indonesian Youth Congress took the oath to have one national language, several writers and people interested in the development of Bahasa Indonesia started to publish in 1933 the Pudjangga Baru, which means the New Pudjangga[16]. With the medium of Bahasa Indonesia, writers, philosophers and historians tried to write scientific articles. Since many terms in all fields were lacking in the new Bahasa Indonesia, those enthusiastic members of the Pudjangga Baru were trying to forge new terms. The method was based

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[11] Prof. Dr. Poerbatjaraka, *Riwajat Indonesia* (*History of Indonesia*), Volume I, Djakarta 1952.

Dr. J. G. de Casparis, *Selected inscriptions from the 7th to the 9th century A. D., Volume II*, Bandung 1956.

[12] Dr. J. L. A. Brandes: *Oud-Javaansche oorkonden* (*Old-Javanese inscriptions*), Verhandelingen Bataviaasch Genootschap, Volume LX, Batavia 1913, pp. 6-8.

[13] K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *History of Śrīvijaya*, p. 28.

[14] Dr. C. Hooykaas, *Over Maleise Literatuur* (*On Malay literature*), Second edition, Leiden 1947, p. 6.

Sir Richard Winstedt, *The Malays, A cultural history*, London 1950, pp. 148-150.

[15] Prof. Dr. R. M. Ng. Poerbatjaraka dan Tardjan Hadidjaja, *Kepustakaan Djawa* (Javanese literature), Second edition, Djakarta 1957.

[16] For the meaning of pujangga, see J. Gonda, *Sanskrit in Indonesia*, pp. 371-376.

on:

1. adopting Dutch words which were adapted to the Indonesian pronunciation and spelling, like telephoon (English telephone), telegraaf (English telegraph) etc. which became tilpun, tilgrap and so on.

2. adopting Arab loan words to substitute Dutch terms. Many Arabic words were already known and used in Malay language, like kitab for book, majelis for council and mushawarah for discussion and so on, but for new terms which were not yet known before in Malay language, Bahasa Indonesia made use of new Arabic words like tabligh for propaganda, majemuk for composition and the like. People who knew Arabic usually adopted Arabic words to forge a new term.

3. adopting Sanskrit words. These Sanskrit words, like the case with Arabic, could be derived from words which were already used in Malay language or other regional languages like bidadari from Sanskrit *vidyādharī* (angel), maharaja from Sanskrit *mahārāja* (emperor), jaksa from Sanskrit *adhyakṣa* (supervisor) etc. or new Indonesian words were derived directly from Sanskrit, for example sutradara[17] from Sanskrit *sūtradhāra* meaning stage-manager, biara from Sanskrit *vihāra* meaning monastery and the like. But once accepted as loan word in Bahasa Indonesia, nouns like sutradara can be used as verb by adding the Indonesian prefix di- and the suffix -i, both denoting the passive voice. So from sutradara, it becomes disutradari, which means to be led under the stage-managership of someone. From the same noun sutradara, another derivation can be formed by adding the Indonesian prefix ke- and the suffix -an, both denoting a general situation of that noun, so that kesutradaraan means the stage-managership of someone.

In this connection it can be discussed that the Javanese literature which had a high standard of development, used many Sanskrit words in the Javanese language and many of these Sanskrit loan words were adopted in Bahasa Indonesia. This process of development did not sound illogical, since the number of Indonesians belonging to Javanese cultural area is the biggest among the Indonesian nation and the number of educated Indonesians consisted for the biggest part of Indonesians belonging to the Javanese cultural area. On account of this, many Sanskrit loan words through the medium of Javanese language have been adopted in Bahasa Indonesia. Two or three examples will be sufficient in this paper.

The word for culture in Bahasa Indonesia is kebudayaan, which came

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[17] Sir Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, new edition, enlarged and improved, p. 1242.

into existence through the Javanese word kebudayan[18]. Historically speaking this Javanese word kebudayan was derived from Sanskrit budaya (or correctly speaking from Sanskrit *buddhayaḥ*, i.e. the plural of *buddhi*[18] which means mind), whereas the Javanese prefix ke- and suffix -an form a substantive denoting the quality of the word concerned with[19]. Another word is kesusasteraan meaning literature and which came into existence through the Javanese word kesusastran which originally had been derived from Sanskrit *suśāstra*, meaning good books. Like the case with the word kebudayaan, the Sanskrit noun *suśāstra* is preceded by the prefix ke- and the suffix -an.

4. adopting loan words from other regional languages of Indonesia such as the Javanese, the Minangkabau language (the language of the West coast of Central Sumatra) etc. As an example of a Javanese loan word can be mentioned the term ningrat meaning the nobility, tjindil-abang meaning a red baby-mouse[20] and so on. Loan words from the Minangkabau language are among others lembaga, meaning institute and which originally was pronounced as limbago and the new word tegak in Bahasa Indonesia (meaning standing erect) and which was originally pronounced as tagak.

Those four points mentioned above were the guiding principles through which Bahasa Indonesia was gradually developing into the national language which at the end can be used as a tool for the modern Indonesian mind. Rapid progress was made during World War II. Because, as soon as the Dutch language was banned by the Japanese military authorities in 1942 and only Bahasa Indonesia could be tolerated as an official language, besides Japanese, Bahasa Indonesia made an enormous progress, especially in the field of education. During that time, only Bahasa Indonesia was recognised as the medium of instruction through the whole of Indonesia. Due to the activities of the Komisi Bahasa or the Council for Bahasa Indonesia, all kinds of words in all branches of sciences were created, the four points mentioned above were used as the guiding principles.

When Indonesia proclaimed its Independence on the 17th August 1945, Bahasa Indonesia which was already understood by the entire Indonesian nation was accepted as the national language by the Constitution of 1945. From

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[18] For the declension of *buddhi* (f.), see William Dwight Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, London 1950, p. 119.

[19] Dr. P. J. Zoetmulder, De taal van het Adiparwa (*The language of the Adiparwa*), Verhandelingen Bataviaasch Genootschap, Volume LXXIX (Bandung 1950), p. 75.

[20] Ir. Sukarno, *Dibawah Bendera Revolusi* (Under the banner of the Indonesian revolution), First volume (Second edition 1963), p. 283.

that time on Bahasa Indonesia beside being the only language for the administration also became the only language for instruction at all kinds of schools, i.e. from the level of elementary schools up to the university level. So since 1945 all lectures in the universities have been done in Bahasa Indonesia and a tremendous number of textbooks have been written in the national language to substitute Dutch books and books in other foreign languages.

Since the Indonesian nation consists of so many tribes and peoples, the use of new words in Bahasa Indonesia as substitutes for Dutch terms was in the beginning rather confusing, because people from a certain region of Indonesia, say for example from the Javanese cultural area borrowed many loan words, expressions, grammatical peculiarities and so on from the Javanese language, whereas people from West Sumatra borrowed a lot of loan words from the Minangkabau language. To avoid further misunderstandings and confusions, the Government of Indonesia established the Institute of Language and Culture (Lembaga Bahasa dan Budaya) which up to this time takes care of the development of Bahasa Indonesia and the culture of Indonesia.

Now a question can be put forward as to why Sanskrit still plays an important role in the development of the national language in modern Indonesia! The next argumentations will be sufficient to show why Sanskrit still plays and will play a role in the effort of the Indonesian people creating new words in the vocabulary of Bahasa Indonesia as the national language.

1. It has been pointed out in the previous parts of this paper that Indian culture contributed a lot to the development of Indonesian culture in the past since the first centuries of the Christian era and since it has been proved sufficiently, that Indian culture which was transplanted to Indonesia used the holy Sanskrit language[21] as the medium for expression of that cultural mind, Sanskrit was already deeprooted in several regions in Indonesia. Even, as it has been noticed by Dr. Bijan Raj Chatterjee, when the Indonesian people were transforming the Indian cultural heritage into Indonesian culture, places referred to in the Mahābhārata became so familiar to the Javanese people, that in the course of time the episodes of the Indian Mahābhārata were supposed to have taken place in Java itself and Javanese princes claimed lineal descent from the Pāṇḍavas[22]. If this could take place, it was nothing but the result of the fact that Indian culture was intertwisted in the pattern of the

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[21] Dr. J. C. van Leur, *Indonesian trade and society*, Essays in Asian social and economic history, The Hague-Bandung 1955, pp. 103-104.

[22] Dr. Bijan Raj Chatterjee, *India and Java*, p. 48.

Indonesian culture[23].

2. The second question as to why Bahasa Indonesia still adopts a great number of Sanskrit words cannot be answered without taking into consideration the psychological aspects of the development of that language. It has been discussed above that the Indonesian language was from the beginning a tool with which the Indonesian people were competing with the Dutch colonial policy, so that Bahasa Indonesia was and is still a tool of politics.

Since the Indonesian nation likes to build a new and strong Indonesia, psychologically speaking, the effort to establish a united glorious Indonesia should be connected with the glory of Indonesia's past, which once was carried out by the kingdom of Majapahit. It is well-known in history that when this kingdom reached its peak power in the 14th century A.D., the culture of Majapahit was based partly on Indian cultural heritage with Sanskrit as the scientific language, side by side with the Old-Javanese language. But since the Old-Javanese language was so closely interrelated with Sanskrit, because many Sanskrit words were adopted in Old-Javanese, Sanskrit played a dominant role in literary expressions in those times. On account of this, it is not surprising to know that when new words were forged in Bahasa Indonesia, many of those words have been derived from Sanskrit. Psychologically and politically speaking, the Indonesian nation likes to use those words which were also used by politicians and scholars during Majapahit times. So this is one of the reasons why the choice on Sanskrit as the source of creating new words in Bahasa Indonesia is much stronger than the choice of Arabic, although it is well known too that 85% of the Indonesian people belong to Islam which considers Arabic as a holy language.

The next part of this paper will show that Sanskrit is still important in modern Indonesia. Anyone will be surprised to learn that the motto used by the Navy of Indonesian Republic runs as follows: Jaleswa jayamahe, meaning: even on the oceans we are victorious. The sentence is completely Sanskrit! Also the motto used by the Indonesian Army is pure Sanskrit and it runs: tri ubhaya shakti, meaning: the three powerful duties of the Indonesian soldier. Anyone will also be struck by the fact that the Indonesian Police Force has another Sanskrit motto which is the tribrata or the three oaths for any member

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[23] Prof. Dr. R. M. Sutjipto Wirjosuparto, *A short cultural history of Indonesia*, Djakarta 1964, pp. 17-18.

[24] Dr. N. J. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, pp. 150-151.

[25] Dr. N. J. Krom, idem.

of the Indonesian Police Force. Last but not least, it can be added here that the Indonesian Air Force does not differ very much from the other three Indonesian Forces, since its motto runs: Swabhuwana paksa, meaning: 'with the wings we are masters in our own world or country'.

3. Besides psychological and political circumstances which give the lines along which Bahasa Indonesia has to develop by adopting Sanskrit loan words to enrich its vocabulary, historical circumstances play also an important role. It has been discussed above that the Javanese language developed one of the marvellous literatures in Indonesia, so that new words or terms to fill in the gaps of ideas in Bahasa Indonesia have been derived from Javanese language, which was very much influenced by Sanskrit words. So a big number of hybrid Javanese words, consisting of Javanese and Sanskrit words become loan words in Bahasa Indonesia.

One of the previous Governments of Indonesia was styled: kabinet karya or the work Government. The word karya is a derivation from Sanskrit, but simultaneously also used in the same form in Javanese language. Through the medium of the Javanese language, the word karya has been made a modern word in Bahasa Indonesia. This phenomenon is very important, because in Bahasa Indonesia itself, the word for work is kerja and which is nothing but another adaptation from Sanskrit through the Malay language. Since the word kerja has become an ordinary daily word, for the sake of dynamic literary expression, there is a need of a new word and the choice falls on the Javanese word karya, which was originally derived from Sanskrit.

Two or three years ago when His Excellency President Soekarno was addressing the Majelis Permushawaratan Rakyat or the Council of the People at Bandung, he used the word "ambeg paramarta" which is factually a Javanese expression. This expression consists of the Javanese word ambeg, meaning attitude, whereas paramarta which factually has been derived from Sanskrit *paramārtha* means the highest wealth. Ambeg paramarta should be, according to the ideas of President Soekarno, the right attitude of any Indonesian to give priority to carry out important matters before less important ones in order to help the Indonesian Government to accomplish its gigantic work to attain the Indonesian welfare-state. In fact paramarta or Sanskrit *paramārtha* means the highest (*parama*) wealth (*artha*) and in Indian philosophy *artha* is a part of the catur-varga, consisting of *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*[27].

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[26] Prof. Dr. R. M. Ng. Poerbatjaraka dan Tardjan Hadijaja, *Kepustakaan Djawa*, p. 1.

[27] V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, *The Gupta Polity*, University of Madras 1952, p. 118.

Another example which shows that a Sanskrit word was adopted by Bahasa Indonesia through the Javanese language is the word nara pidana meaning prisoner. In colonial Indonesia, the Indonesian prisoners were used to be chained and the word for it was perantaian, meaning he who is chained. But since in modern free Indonesia, any prisoner should be guided to become a good member of the society after he has left the jail, the term perantaian does not fit more in free Indonesia, so this word has been substituted by the Javanese word nara pidana. In correct Sanskrit, it should be spelled as nara pidana and which consists of Sanskrit *nara* meaning man and Sanskrit *pīḍana* paining[28].

There are other examples which indicate that the use of Sanskrit words through the medium of Javanese language is in accordance with the development and progress of Indonesian society. In free Indonesia, the use of Malay words laki-laki for male and perempuan for female is avoided and nobody dares to use both words, because these two words are considered to be insulting[29]. So the words wanita for female and pria for male are replacing these original indigenous Malay words and to any Sanskrit scholar, it is obvious that these two new words in Bahasa Indonesia have been derived from Sanskrit through the Javanese language. In Sanskrit language, *vanitā* means a loved wife[29], whereas *priya* has been derived from Sanskrit *priya* meaning lover or husband[30].

Besides the fact that new words are forged through the medium of Javanese language, many terms in Bahasa Indonesia expressing modern ideas in the field of administration and other fields have also been created through the medium of Malay language and other regional languages in Indonesia, say for example the word swakerja or autoactivity, which has been formed through Sanskrit *sva* (own) and Malay kerja (work), swapraja or autonomy from Sanskrit *sva* and *prajā* (subjects of a king) and so on.

4. The fourth point concerns with the role of His Excellency Dr. Soekarno, the President of Indonesia. The growth and development of Bahasa Indonesia as a national language is inseparable from the personality of Presi-

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[28] The term *pīḍana* in Sanskrit means paining and it seems that in ancient times the prisoners had to undergo painful tortures. But since the meaning of paining is not felt any more in Indonesian literature, the word nara pidana in Bahasa Indonesia is used to substitute the word perantaian.

[29] Prof. Dr. Slametmuljana, *Semantik* (*Semantics*), Djakarta 1964, p. 32.

[30] Sir Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 918.

[31] *Idem.* p. 710.

dent Soekarno himself. Since it has been discussed in the previous parts of this paper that the Bahasa played an important role in the Indonesian struggle against Dutch domination, personal influence of President Soekarno on the development of the national language is undeniable. A large number of new words have been created by President Soekarno in all fields of cultural expressions. But since President Soekarno is the son of a Javanese father and a Balinese Brahminl lady, from whom he is endowed with the traditional cultures of Indonesia which were influenced by the benevolent Indian culture through the medium of Sanskrit, he is the man who always strengthens the bridge between Sanskrit and the modern culture of Indonesia, especially in the field of Bahasa Indonesia. Based on his broad knowledge of the ancient culture of Indonesia he makes use of so many Sanskrit words and expressions through the Javanese culture and language in his numerous speeches and writings, that many of these ancient words live again in Bahasa Indonesia.

Terms like Pancasila, from Sanskrit *pañca* meaning five and Sanskrit *śīla* can be derived easily from its original Sanskrit source, but it has now a specific Indonesian connotation. Because the original idea of Sanskrit *śīla* according to Indian philosophy is no more there in the modern Indonesian culture, Pancasila which is the embodiment of the Indonesian state-philosophy does not conform to śīla from Indian philosophy. In other words, Sanskrit as a language which is contributing a lot in the development of Bahasa Indonesia is making its own development in Indonesia which differs from Sanskrit in the country of origin, i. e. India.

If any Sanskrit scholar knows that the word for twenty in Sanskrit is *viṁśati*[32], this correct form of Sanskrit is not used in Indonesia. Instead of this correct word, President Soekarno has ordered to use the Sanskrit words *dvidaśa* to express the meaning of twenty, which means two (*dvi*) times ten (*daśa*), i. e. twenty. On account of this, when the people of Indenesia were celebrating the 20th anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia, the only term which was known throughout Indonesia is dwidasaawarsa or the (celebration of the) 20th anniversary. In this case, the rules of Sanskrit grammar are no more valid in the frame of Bahasa Indonesia, because Sanskrit has been accepted in Indonesian culture and it is developing along lines through which Bahasa Indonesia is growing.

From the discussions mentioned in the previous parts of this paper, it becomes clear that the Sanskrit language can be considered to be a fertilizer in

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[32] William Dwight Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 475.

the Indonesian soil when Bahasa Indonesia is adopting a great number of Sanskrit words. Superfluously speaking, Sanskrit loan words contribute to the development of Bahasa Indonesia, but viewed from the linguistic point of view Sanskrit language has been transplanted in the pattern of Bahasa Indonesia.

Another striking example, which indicates that the rules of Sanskrit grammar are not applied in Bahasa Indonesia, is the use of *a-* which according to Sanskrit grammar is a negative prefix[33]. But since in the Javanese language, there is an indigenous prefix denoting a possessive relation with the word attached to it, in the Old-Javanese language there are two kinds of prefixes *a*, namely the Sanskrit alpha privans and the Old-Javanese *a-* prefix. From the history of the Javanese language it is already known that the indigenous *a-* prefix denoting the possessive relation is omitted without affecting the meaning of the word, say for example the word urip or aurip; both words have the same meaning, i.e. to live. But when this Old-Javanese and Javanese rule of grammar is applied to Sanskrit words with alpha privans, like asambhawa which means impossible and which in Javanese language has dropped the prefix *a-* without any change of the meaning, so that in Javanese language sambhawa means also impossible[34], this development causes of course many confusions. One of the examples is the name of the former capital of the Republic of Indonesia, i. e. Jogjakarta in Central Java. The name Jogja should have been derived from Sanskrit Ayodhyā, the capital of king Rāma according to the Rāmāyaṇa and means unconquerable. But since it has been pointed out that the alpha privans can be dropped without causing any change of meaning, Jogja (without alpha privans) still means the unconquerable (city)[35].

Knowing the reason of this confusion, one should not be surprised to know that one of the most outstanding contractors in modern Indonesia in present times is the Nindya Karya. According to the rule of Sanskrit grammar, the correct name of Nindya Karya should be Anindya Karya (with alpha privans) and which means virtuous works. Seen from the point of Sanskrit grammar, the word Nindya Karya should mean bad works, but on the contrary seen from the Indonesian point of view, since there is a confusion between the use of alpha privans and the Old-Javanese prefix a, the name Nindya Karya in Bahasa Indonesia is supposed to have the meaning of virtuous works. That is again another proof that Sanskrit words adopted in Bahasa Indonesia have their own development in accordance with the development of Bahasa Indo-

[33] *Idem.* p. 411, under No. 1121.

[34] Dr. P. J. Zoetmulder, *De taal van het Adiparwa*, pp. 34-36.

[35] Prof. Dr. Slametmuljana, *Semantik*, p. 22.

nesia.

Other examples of new words in Bahasa Indonesia are swasta and pra yuwana. As far as the first word is concerned, swasta means private and is an opposition of the word governmental. The word swasta should have been derived from the Sanskrit words *sva* (own) and *stha* (standing), that means standing on one's own feet, i. e. private. Although an Indonesian Sanskritist has made some remarks on the use of this word, because svastha in Sanskrit means in good health[36], Bahasa Indonesia does not concern with correct rules of Sanskrit grammar or Sanskrit idioms. As a matter of fact, the word swasta is known throughout Indonesia as the only word for private!

As far as the word pra yuwana is concerned, it is used in Bahasa Indonesia to substitute the Dutch-Latin word pro yuventute, meaning homes for orphans. According to the same Indonesian Sanskrit scholar mentioned above, the word pra yuwana cannot exist in pure Sanskrit and according to her the right expression should be *yauvanasya artham* or *yauvanārtham*[37]. But since the word pra yuwana is already known and used through Indonesia and it is still doubted whether the correct *yauvanasya artham* should have the chance to be adopted in Bahasa Indonesia, the word pra yuwana is supposed to be the right word to substitute the Dutch term pro yuventute. This is an affirmation of the proof that correct words borrowed from foreign languages cannot be accepted easily, but the rule in Bahasa Indonesia is that only those foreign words can be adopted in Bahasa Indonesia, if the words are easy to be pronounced according to the rules of Bahasa Indonesia itself. After all, Bahasa Indonesia has its own structure and its own peculiarities!

Anyhow, apart from the discussion concerning the question of what is preferable to use, correct Sanskrit words or Sanskrit words adapted to the structure of Bahasa Indonesia, the main fact remains that Sanskrit plays and will play an important role in the development of Indonesian culture in general and in the development of Bahasa Indonesia in particular. This is one important point, because knowing that Indian culture has so many similarities if compared with Indonesian culture, both the peoples of India and Indonesia, through the medium of their cultural heritage, should live in cordial friendship!

On the side of the Indonesian people itself, the love and the admiration towards the culture of ancient India and Sanskrit language are still a living

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[36] H. Soebadio, *Penggunaan bahasa Sanskerta dalam pembentukan istilah baru* (the use of Sanskrit language in the creation of new terms). Madjalah Limu-ilmu Sastra Indonesia (Indonesian Journal of Cultural Studies), Volume I, No. 1 (1963) pp. 54-55.

[37] *Idem*. p. 54.

reality. In Indonesian universities, State as well as private universities, cultural history of India and Sanskrit language are two important subjects for students who are studying Bahasa Indonesia, the regional languages of Indonesia and archaeology. If the study for B. A. and M. A. courses in Indonesia lasts five years, the students in universities have to study Sanskrit for three or four years.

If we take into consideration the fact that in Indonesia there are at least 14 universities (state and private) which offer the study of Bahasa Indonesia and archaeology, cultural history of India and Sanskrit are taught in 14 Faculties of Letters of the 14 universities mentioned above. Beside this, since students reading in the Institutes of Education in Indonesia have to study Sanskrit for 2 or 3 years, whereas the number of such kind of Institutes can be fixed at 20, the study of Sanskrit in Indonesia is done in 34 institutes on university level. For students who are studying the cultural history of India, there are already books written in Bahasa Indonesia[38] and even some months ago a new book on Sanskrit grammar in Bahasa Indonesia has been published[39] in order to make the study of this important language easier.

If the Government of Indonesia spends a lot of money to appoint lecturers and professors in cultural history of India and Sanskrit language, it is nothing but the result of the sincere wish of the Indonesian people that Sanskrit is indispensible for the study of Indonesia's past. Through the knowledge of cultural history of India and Sanskrit, the people of India and Indonesia should be aware of their common heritage and through knowledge of their respective cultures, all kinds of misunderstandings can be avoided. On account of this, I should like to end my paper by saying a Sanskrit motto which runs: Awagama priyata! "Friendship through understanding!"

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[38] Drs. Sutjipto Wirjosuparto, *Sedjarah Kebudajaan India* (*A cultural history of India*), Djakarta 1957.

Drs. Sutjipto Wirjosuparto, *Sedjarah seni Artja India* (*History of Indian sculpture*), Djakarta 1957.

[39] Dr. Nj. Haryati Soebadio Noto Soebagio, *Tatabahasa Sangsekerta Ringkas* (*A short Sanskrit grammar*), Djakarta 1964.

LUDWIK STERNBACH, PARIS

HINDU CONCEPT OF THE SEVEN CONSTITUENTS OF THE STATE IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

1. The political scientists of today do not agree on a uniform definition of the state. The number of definitions is innumerable; it may be however said that today's political scientists accept that the constituents of the state are fourfold, viz. population, territory, government and sovereignty, of which the last one—sovereignty—as well as the concept of nationhood, political consciousness and unity and its symbol, the flag, are very advanced concepts, unknown in ancient times.

2.1. According to Indian political thinkers the constituents of the state or elements of the state (*prakṛt-s*) were seven—the seven limbs (*saptāṅga*). They were: (1) the king, the ruler (*svāmī*); (2) the minister (*amātya*); (3) the kingdom, i.e. the territory and its people (*rāṣṭra, janapada, jana*); (4) the fortress or the capital (*durga, pura*); (5) the treasury or granary (*kośa, koṣa*); (6) the army, the

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI.	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
AP.	Agni-purāṇa, Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series.
BEFEO.	Bulletin de l'École Française de l'Extrême Orient.
G.	Gautama-dharmasūtra, Sanskrit Text Society, London 1876.
IC.	G. Coedès, Inscriptions du Cambodge, I-VII.
ISCC.	A. Barth et A. Bergaigne, Inscriptions sanscrites de Campā et du Cambodge.
KA.	Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra, ed. by R. P. Kangle. University of Bombay Studies Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pali, No. 1.
KN.	Kāmandakīya Nītisāra, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 14.
MBh.	Mahābhārata, Poona edition.
Mn.	Mānava-dharmaśāstra, J. Jolly's edition.
MP.	Matsya-purāṇa, Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series.
LS.	Lokasāra (see para 8.3.3).
RN.	Rājanīti in Pāli (see para 8.2.2).
Śukr.	Śukranīti, ed. by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta 1890 (2nd ed.)
Vi.	Viṣṇu-smṛti, The Adyar Library Series 93.
VīrR.	Vīramitrodaya, Rājanīti-prakāśa, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series 30.
Y.	Yājñavalkya-smṛti, Nirṇaya Sāgara Press 1936 (4th ed.)

rod, the strength (*daṇḍa, bala*); and (7) the allies or friends (*suhṛd, mitra*).

2.2. All but the last one of the four constituents of today's state, were then represented in the Indian concept of *saptāṅga*: population and territory (*janapada*; in this connection the opinion of KA. in 13.4.5 might be quoted: न ह्यजनो जनपदो राज्यमजनपदं वा भवतीति कौटिल्यः) and government (king, plus ministers, plus the rod/punishment/strength/army and plus the treasury; the "King" and "the ministers" comprise also the subordinate staff, while the rod, i.e. the right to punish equals "governing"; in this connection Y.1.354 might be quoted which says that in the form of *daṇḍa-dharma* was created by Brahmā; finally the army ensures the security of the kingdom and the stability of the rule of government from its seat—the capital or the fort.

3. The enumeration of the seven constituents of the state is repeated in the whole *dharma-* and *artha*-literature. We find it in Mn., Y., Vi., G., KA., KN., Śukr., MBh.. AP., MP. (the latter three in the *adhyāya-s* dealing with *dharma* and *artha*) in the *nibandha-s* and even in epigraphs.

4. We do not find yet the concept of the seven constituents of state in the Vedic period. since particularly in the early Vedic times the state was still tribal, while in the later period, when some tribes settled down, some of the elements of state were mentioned in the Vedic literature (e.g. the king, the ministers and other high officials, the forts, etc.) but not in connection with the definition of the state.

5.1. The enumeration of the seven constituents of the state was not given always in the sanskrit sources dealing with the subject in the same order. Only the king and the ministers remained always on the top of the list; the latter five constituents varied in position, sometimes even in the same source (e.g. the order is different for instance in AP. 139.1 from that given in 233.12 or 225.11).

5.2. The order in which the constituents of the state are enumerated is quite important, since Mn. (9.294) states that among these seven constituents of the state injury to each preceding one "is to be regarded as more serious" that the injury to the following one. However in the next verse Mn. stated that the constituents of the state are interlaced and dependent on each other so that there cannot be any distinction among them.

5.3. The following table shows the order in which the seven constituents of the state are enumerated in the Sanskrit sources dealing with the subject. Numbers are used to gain a clear picture of the order. For that purpose the king—*svāmī* is denoted with No. 1; minister—*amātya* with No. 2; the kingdom—*rāṣṭra* with No. 3 (*janapada* with No. 3A; and *jana* with No. 3B); the fortress—*durga*

with No. 4 (the capital—*pura* with No. 4A); the treasury (*kośa* or *koṣa*) with No. 5; the army—*daṇḍa* with No. 6 (the strength—*bala* with No. 6A), and the friend —*mitra* with No. 7 (ally— *suhṛd* with No. 7A).

KA 6.1.1:	Y. 1.353[1]	KN. 1.18 & 4.1-2[2]	MP. 220.19[3]	AP. 225.11	AP. 239.1	AP. 233.12	Vi. 3.33	Mn. 9.294[5]	G[6]	Śukr. 1.61	MBh. 12.6962-3
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1[7]
2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3A	3B	3	3A	3A	3	4	4	4A	7A	7A	5
4	4	4	4	4	4	5	5	3	4	5	6
5	5	5	6	6	5[4]	6	6	5	5	3	7
6	6	6A	5	5	6A	7	3	6	6	4	3A
7	7	7A	7	7	7A	3A	7	7A	3B	6A	4A

6. The seven constituent parts of the state, as defined in the *dharma-* and *artha-śāstra s* were typically Indian. They were very common to the whole sanskrit classical literature and formed the basis of the ancient Indian science of state. The *dharma-* and *artha-śāstra-s,* when dealing with *rājadharma,* usually started the chapter with the seven component of the state and considered the *prakṛti-s* as its basic concept; only in the following verses they dealt point by point with each of the seven *prakṛti-s,* giving of course most space to the attributes and duties of the sovereign.

7. The concept of the seven constituents of the state spread over to the countries of "Greater India" and we find several references to the *prakṛtī-s* in the hinduised countries of South-East Asia and in particular in Burma, Cambodia, Lāos and Indonesia. The quotations from Sanskrit sources mentioned above, if available, are almost identical in the Indian Sanskrit sources and in the sources of "Greater India", so that there cannot be any doubt that the concept

[1] Also quoted in VīrR 278, Rājanītiratnākara 71, Rājadharmakaustubha 246.

[2] KN. 8.4 enumerates the five "principal *prākṛti-s*" viz. 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 but also mentions the allied sovereigns and the central sovereign. KN. 15.1 speaking of the *vyāsana-s,* mentions *prākṛti-s* begininng with 2 and ending with 7, but considers that the greatest *vyāsana* is the ruler himself.

[3] Indentically in VīrR. 123. 5-6.

[4] क्रोपो for कोपो

[5] Also quoted in VīrR. 278, Rājanītiratnākara 71, Rājadharmakaustubha 246.

[6] In Sarasvatīvilāsa (Madras 1927) 45.22.

[7] *Rāja* (himself.)

of the seven constituents of the state spread directly from India to these countries, the more so as we know well what great influence the Mānava-dharmaśāstra and Indian concepts of *dharma* and *artha* exerted on the thinking of South-East Asia. This author does not intend to repeat here these well known information, but intends to show here where and in what manner the concept of the seven constituents of the state spread to South-East Asia.

8. In B u r m a we find a number of collections written in Pāli on *nīti*, or rules of good conduct, some of which were prepared "for the accomplishment of a king's present prosperity and the acquirement of experience for the subjugation of the kingdoms of others"[8]. A king who would bear in mind these rules of good conduct, which he was supposed to commit to memory, or did discuss with his *ācārya*[9], would "overcome the whole earth" and would "enjoy the bliss of heaven"[10].

8.1. In two of these collections on *nīti*, viz. in the Pāli Rājanīti and in the Pāli Lokasāra we find mention of the seven constituents of the state.

8.2.1. The Rājanīti came to Burma probably in the beginning of the fifteenth century through Manipur where it was known in Sanskrit (in Bengalī script) among the Manipurian Puṇṇa-s and then in sanskritised Burmese[11]. This anthology, composed mostly of political maxims, was chiefly based on Sanskrit *dharmaśāstra-s*, but not necessarily on the Mānava-dharmaśāstra[12]; it was based on the entire sanskrit *dharma-* and *artha*-literature known in India not later than the fifteenth century A. D. including the *subhāṣita-s* found among the so-called Cāṇakya's aphorisms[13].

8.2.2. The Rājanīti was included by J. Gray among his "Ancient Proverbs and Maxims from Burmese Sources or the *Nīti* Literature of Burma"[14].

8.3.1. The Lokasāra, or "the essence of worldly wisdom" is a little known[15] short collection of 55 *nīti* sayings in Pāli composed in three parts, of

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[8] RN. 1; LS. 47.

[9] The collections were written for the king himself or for his *ācārya* who would discuss the ethics and policy to be conducted by the king by pronouncing moral verses or by giving direct advise to the king.

[10] RN. 136.

[11] J. Gray, *Ancient Proverbs and Maxims from Burmese Sources or the Nīti Literature of Burma*, Trübner & Co., London 1886.

[12] So J. Gray, *op. cit.* p. x.

[13] L. Sternbach, *The Spreading of Cāṇakya's Aphorisms over "Greater India"*, Calcutta 1969.

[14] *op. cit.* f. 11.

[15] It is not mentioned in M. H. Bode's, *The Pāli Literature of Burma*, London 1909.

which only the second part[16] deals with instructions to kings. It was said that this chapter included the essence of law from various treatises[17] and that it was written[18] for the benefit of the king in order to teach him how to get peace and prosperity in his country[19]. The author of the Lokasāra, unlike the author of the Rājanīti, invoked the authority of ṛṣi Manu[20] "whose judgment is impartial"; thus he imputed many of the *nīti* sayings included in it to Manu and indirectly to the Mānava-dharmaśāstra and accorded recognition to the latter work[21]. However the authority of Manu was invoked only *in majorem gloriam* and the teachings of the Lokasāra were culled from the entire *dharma-* and *artha-*literature known in North-East India not later than in the fifteenth century A. D.

8.3.2. Who was the author of the Lokasāra and when he lived is not known. Probably he was Kandaw Mingyaung who was the tutor of the uncle of the king Narapati, brother of the king Minrekyawswa (A. D. 1443-1469), one of the kings of Ava. The middle of the fifteenth century, as the date of the composition of the Lokasāra seems to be quite likely, since the Lokanīti, and Dhammanīti, and other *nīti* works in Pāli well known in Burma, were probably composed in the beginning of the fifteenth century[22] or not much later[23].

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[16] Verses 23-47; first part (v.1-22) deals with general instructions and the third part (v. 48-55) deals with Brahmaṇs.

[17] Verse 47.

[18] It was also so stated in RN.

[19] Verse 47.

[20] According to introduction to the Burmese king Wāgarū's Manu Dharmasattham (p. 1 of the translation) king Mahāsammata (the Great Elect) had a councillor, a *ṛṣi* called Manu who was well versed in the law. Desiring the good of all men, Manu rose into the expanse of heaven and, having arrived at the boundary wall of the world, he there saw the law-books written in letters of the size of a full-grown cow; he committed them to memory and, having returned, communicated the same to king Mahāsammata.

[21] The Manu Dhammasattham of King Wāgarū (Wāgarū Dhammathat) which was adopted by the Talaing kings ceñturies ago and which was translated into Burmese (and then into English and published by the Superintendent Government Printing and Stationery, Burma, 1934 with a preface by J. Jardine, Esq.,) does not contain any mention of *rājadharma;* it deals with the 18 titles of law as set out in the Mānava-dharmaśāstra, but departs in details often from the *dharmaśāstra.* The earliest manuscript is from B. E. 1069 (=A. D. 1707) but the code dates from several centuries before. King Wāgarū (or Wārerū) was proclaimed king of Pegu in A. D. 1287.

[22] Imitations of the Lokanīti occurred in a Burmese inscription at Pagan dating from A.D. 1418 or 1416 (cf. E. Gerini, *On Siamese Proverbs and Idiomatic Expressions* in the *Journal of the Siam Society* I (p. 180). The Dhammanīti and the Rājanīti were probably of the same period; in any case they were not much later.

[23] Cf. L. Sternbach, *op.cit.* p. 37; para 49 F.

8.3.3. The Lokasāra was published in the anthology of fifteen books edited by Iksathara Pāli Scholars Society Iksathara Piṭika Printing Press, Rangoon with explanations in Burmese (pp. 180-195)[24]. Other editions are: Lokasāra pyui[1] (Lokasāra pyo) edited by Ū[3] Vaṇ (Maṇ[3] suvaṇ) with paraphrasing and notes, Rangoon, Kusalavatī, B. E. 1317 (=A. D. 1955); and Lokasāra with an introduction and notes by Yeo Wun Sin, Rangoon 1902 (The English Burma Press)[25]. The latter text was also translated into English by Yeo Wun Sin on the basis of the first edition of the text, but unfortunately this translation was not available to me. I used, however, the English "Notes" on the text as prepared by Yeo Wun Sin for the second edition of the text (pp. 21-120).

8.4. In the Pāli Rājanīti in verse 27 the seven constituents of the state are enumerated in the following order: the king, the minister, the kingdom, the fortress, the granary, the army and the ally (i. e. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7)[26]. In verses 25-26 of the Rājanīti we have a somewhat different and fuller enumeration of the seven constituents of the state, viz. the king, the minister, the country inhabited by good people, the fortress difficult to be taken, punishment in keeping with crime, a granary always filled with corn and a friend devoted to the king in danger (i. e. 1, 2, 3A, 4, 6, 5, 7).[26] In verse 28 the Rājanīti says: among these even if one constituent (*prākṛti*) is deficient, the king's good state declines; another, not wishing to remain on terms of inequality with him strives hard to gain an ascendency. As can be seen from the latter verse, the Rājanīti does not pay any particular attention to the order of constituents of the state, but, similarly as Mn. and MBh., is of the opinion that there was an organic unity in the several elements of the state. The order of the constituents of the state, as found in Rājanīti 27 is identical with most sanskrit sources[27] and in Rājanīti 25-26 is identical with that found in MP. 220.19 and AP. 225.11; it would be however premature[28] to draw from this fact the con-

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[24] I wish to express my thanks to Daw Khin Su, Research Officer at the Seminar für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde at the University of Göttingen for helping me in the translation of the Lokasāra.

[25] Two editions of this work were published, since the text was used in the eighth and ninth standards of the Anglo-Vernacular schools of Burma.

[26] For the meaning of the numbers 1 to 7 see para 5.3 above.

[27] See table in para 5.3 above.

[28] We do not know yet whether the Purāṇa-s spread to Burma and, if so, when.

clusion that verses 25-26 were interpolations or that they were borrowed from the MP. or AP., although it cannot be explained why the Rājanīti enumerated in two places, one following the other, the seven constituents of the state and in somewhat different order[29].

8.5. The Lokasāra also enumerated in verse 36, similarly as the Lokanīti in verse 27, the seven constituents of the state. There, the king, the minister, the kingdom, the fortress, the granary, the army and the ally are mentioned. After this enumeration, without any further commentary, the Lokasāra in the same verse gives an explanation as to the building of the fortress and arrangements for its defense. Only in other verses of the Rājadharma section the Lokasāra deals with each of the seven constituents of the state, but not in the order given in verse 36. It is obvious that the Lokasāra in the following and preceding verses pays particular attention to the king and his powers and duties, but it seems that the author of the Lokasāra did not realise the importance of the concept of the seven constituents of the state as the basis of *rājadharma* and included them in his *nīti* collection because they were well known also in Burma; having included them in his *nīti*-treatise, he did not develop the concept of the seven constituents of the state and did not pay any attention to it any more.

9. The contary can be observed in the Hinduised kingdoms of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula also influenced by Hindu acculturation. There, though it was not possible to trace anywhere the enumaration of the seven constituents of the state it is evident that the concept of these constituents was well known and well understood. We find in today's Cambodia and Lāos several inscriptions mentioning highly revered *sapta-prakṛti-s* and *saptāṅga-s* in the sense of the basic seven elements of the state.

9.1. And so, in the stele from Pràsàt Sralau, erected at the occasion of the ascension to the throne of Harṣavarman III (A. D. 1065) we read that the king, as it is befitting, gained the seven constituents of the state (*sapta-prakṛti-maṇḍalam*) in the same manner as the sun, accompanied by seven horses gained thanks to its rays the seven continents[30].

9.2. In the stele of Tûol tà Péč, erected probably during the reign of Sūryavarman I (beginning of the eleventh century) we read an eulogy to Sūryavarman I where it is stated that he was like the sun with seven horses, that he

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[29] We have seen above that also AP. enumerated the seven constituents of the state differently. Cf. para 5.1 and table in para 5.3.

[30] IC. I. 223/225 No. V.

gave joy to the seven constituents of the state (*sapta-prakṛti-rañjakaḥ*), that he had power over seven oceans, seven continents and seven mountains[31].

9.3. The stele of Vàt Práḥ Thāt of Tŭ'k Čha, from the end of the tenth century or beginning of the eleventh century, begins with the eulogy of Sūryavarman I and a prayer saying: "Let Śrī Sūryavarmadeva with the seven constituents of the state (*sapta-prakṛti-mandala*) gain prosperity and success."[32]

9.4. In the stele of Thuâl Baray, near Aṅgkor, we find the mention of the king as the first of the seven constituents of the state. It is said there that he was the essential element of the state (*pradhanāt prakṛter api*) who always gives happiness to the world, who is endowed with numerous virtues and whom learned people consider as contrary to *sāṅkhya*[33].

9.5. In the inscription from Ban That in today's Lāos we read that Dharaṇīndravarman I (beginning of the twelfth century), being older and having good qualities, caused greater development to the seven solid constituents of state (*sapta-prakṛtir akampyās*) because the full moon rendered fuller the sea of milk[34].

9.6. In the stele from Sambrór-Prei Kūk (right side), probably from the seventh century A.D., which is not well preserved[35] it is said that the king upon whom the elements of state (*prakṛti-s*) were bestowed...defeated the elephant of Indra[36].

9.7. Further references to the seven constituents of the state are also found in the inscriptions on the famous foundation stele from Prè Rup[37].

9.8. We see that in all these cases the authors of the inscriptions knew well the Indian concept of the seven constituents of the state, although in none of the inscriptions the seven elements were enumerated, and considered the seven constituents as the basis for the good administration of the kingdom; without it the king could not rule the country and therefore prayers had to be said that the king, the principal constituent of the state, be endowed with the

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[31] IC. V. 253/261 No. XXXIX. The two inscriptions (IC. I 223/225 and IC. V 253/261) pay particular importance to the number seven which was considered as a lucky number.

[32] IC. V. 223/225 (beginning).

[33] ISCC. 455/463-4. No. XVII B. See also BEFEO. XXV; p. 320; No. LXXXII (*mūla-prakṛti*) stele from Mébón near Aṅgkor Thom dated *śaka* 874 (=A.D. 942).

[34] L. Finot, *L'inscription de Ban That, sarga* III; No. XXVIII. BEFEO 12 (2) p. 17.

[35] In *6* and *d*.

[36] IC. IV 8/10 No. XXXIX.

[37] IC. I pp. 73—142, Nos. CXL (92/124); CXCIV (96/130); CCLX (101/137; CCLXVII (101/138).

other *prakṛti-s* in order to gain prosperity and success...

10.1. In J a v a we also come across the seven constituents of the state.

10.2.1. We find the enumeration of the seven elements of the state in the Javanese Wirāṭa-parwan of the Mahābhārata in a verse which, although influenced by the Sanskrit MBh. (12.69.62-3), is not found in it. The verse reads in the Wirāṭa-parwan:

स्वाम्यमात्यो जनपदो दुर्गा द्रविणसंचयः।
दण्डनीतिश्च मित्रं च सप्त प्रकृतयो मताः ॥

(MBh 4. Appendix II.49; Juynboll's ed. 45.10-11).

10.2.2. The Javanese Mahābhārata follows the order of most of the *dharma* and *artha-śāstra-s*, in particular the KA. text, but instead of *kośa* utilizes a new expression *draviṇasaṁcaya* and instead of *daṇḍa* the expression *daṇḍanīti*[38].

10.3. That the mention of the seven constituents in the Javanese Mahābhārata was not a dead letter can be seen from the Sanskrit inscription[39] which mentions the *saptāṅga* (*saptāṅga rāja sampadā*)[40] and from the Javanese Pañcatantra where we read in the frame story of Book I that the kingdom of the king of the Ikṣvāku dynasty, who ruled Paṭaliputra, was very large and its seven components (*saptāṅga*) were quite efficient.[41]

11. There is nothing unusual in the fact that, with the establishment of Hindu states in South-East Asia, the basic concept of Indian State—the seven constituents of the state— spread to this part of the world, it is however worth noting that this purely brahmaṇistic teaching could have been so easily adopted in Buddhist kingdoms, particularly in Buddhist Burma. Legal and political rules included in Buddhist treatises do not show important Buddhist influences and usually accept the rules of Brahmaṇic *dharma-* and *arthaśāstra s*. That is particularly due to the fact that Buddha's teachings seldom contain specific legal rules for lay devotees. Legal Buddhist codes had to rely therefore on Brahmaṇic *dharma-* and *artha-śāstra-s* from where they crew their material, except in the rare instances when native customs had been influenced by Buddhist teachings. Wherever, however, particularly in treatises on politics, general rules of behaviour of a worldly rule were included in Buddhist scriptures, they were also reflected in the body of the *rājadharma*-chapters of Buddhist

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[38] Cf. *Vāk* 6, p. 117.

[39] No. 578.

[40] Cf. R. H. Friedrich, *Over Inscription van Java en Sumatra*, No. 2.1/8.

[41] ABORI. 47.68.

treatises, as is also the case of the Lokasāra and, to a lesser extent, of the Pāli Rājanīti. And so, next to the purely Brahmanic rules concerning the state and the king, we find there rules of the seven duties of the king taught by Buddha[42], or of the four rules of kindness[43], or of the five strength of the king[44], or of the obligations of the king in order to attain the *nirvaṇa*[45].

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[42] Respecting the guardian spirits of the country by making offerings to them; respecting near relatives and aged persons; refraining from forcibly taking the wives and daughters of the citizens; holding consultations in all affairs; acting in harmony with the people; feeding and looking after monks and Brahmaṇs who have arrived from different quarters and showing favour to those who have not yet come from places far and near in order to prevent them from going away; and not transgressing the prescribed laws in governing the country and following in the footsteps of good old kings (LS. 33).

The ten additional duties of the king are: (1) piety (meritorious religious offerings); (2) charity (almsgiving); (3) rectitude (poor and upright heart); (4) gentleness or mildness; (5) observance of precepts; (6) suppression of anger; (7) forbearance; (8) self-denial; (9) mercy, humanity (without oppressing and giving trouble); (10) unobstructiveness (increasing and extending love and not showing oppcsition to the people (LS. 23). With these duties the king should be well acquainted (LS. 30). Cf. L. Sternbach, *On the Influence of Sanskrit* dharma- *and* artha-śāstra-s *upon the* nīti *litterature of Burma*, in Paṇḍit Charu Deva Shastri Felicitation Volume, Delhi, pp. 612-28.

[43] Love (*mettā*); piety, compassion (*karuṇā*); sympathy (*muditā*); indifference (*upekkhā*) (LS. 23).

[44] *Bala* enumerated in Jātaka 521, Dhammanīti 148 etc.; *bāha* (strength of arms); *bhoga* (strength of wealth); *amachcha* (strength of ministers); *abhjachcha* (strength of ancestry); *baññā* (strength of wisdom); these are like ornamental jewels (LS. 40).

[45] RN. 135.

I GUSTI NGURAH BAGUS, BALI (INDONESIA)

A STRUCTURAL DESCRIPTION OF THE CENTENNIAL PURIFICATION FESTIVAL AT BESAKIH TEMPLE IN BALI

(*Karia Taur Agung Ekādaśa Rudra*)

In the Hindu Balinese community there are many different kinds of religious observances, but in general they may be classified into five groups (*pañca yajña*), namely: *manuṣya yajña* (initiation rituals, to be carried out at various stages of a man's life, starting from the birth of a baby and concluding at the time of marriage), *rĕsi yajña* (the consecration ceremony of a priest or ceremonies of offering made to a priest), *pitra yajña* (ceremonies for the deceased and food offerings made to the ancestors), *deva yajña* (ceremonies and worship addressed to the Dewas and ultimately to the One Supreme God), *buta yajña* (exorcistic rituals in order to appease the malignant powers of the netherworld).

The topic of the description given below, is on the greatest of all festivals of the *buta yajña* group of ceremonies. This festival is known by the name *Karia Taur Agung Ekādaśa Rudra*. Both words *taur* and *caru* have the same meaning, that is 'to make offerings to appease the destructive powers of the netherworld'. Thus, this festival obviously belongs to the *buta yajña* group of ceremonies. Besides this the greatest festival, there are also of course other less important ceremonies belonging to the *buta yajña* group, but it is only the *Ekādaśa Rudra* however, which is large enough to be important for the well-being of the whole island of Bali.

The ceremony takes the form of an offering made to the *Ekādaśa Rudra*, the Eleven Rudras, the manifestations of the destructive aspects of the Lord Śiwa (*meprelaya*). In fact, the group of eleven gods known as the *Ekādaśa Rudra*, is none other than the *Nawa Saňa* or *Nawa Dewatā*, plus two more Dewas who govern the Nadir (*Sor*) and Zenith (*Luhur*). The placing of the offerings made to each of the Eleven Dewas, is determined by the position occupied by each according to the compass, namely: 1. *Wiṣṇu* (North), 2. *Śambhu* (North-East), 3. *Īśwara* (East), 4. *Maheśora* (South-East), 5. *Brahmā* (South), 6. *Rudra* (South-West), 7. *Mahādewa* (West), 8. *Śaňkara* (North-West), 9. *Saďāśiwa* (Middle), 10. *Śiwa* (Zenith), 11. *Parama Śiwa* (Nadir) (see figure 1).

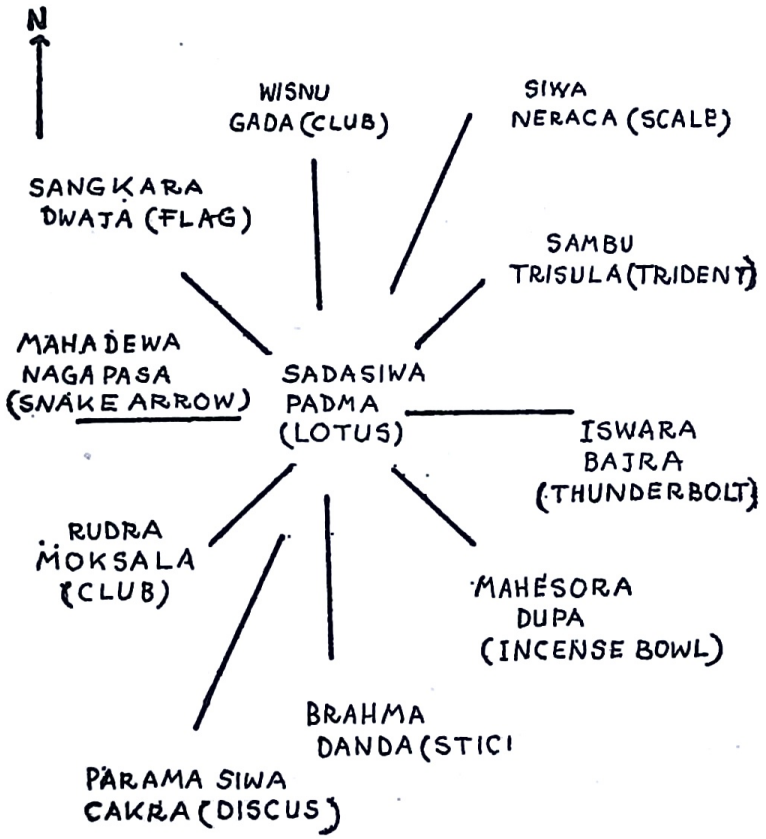


Fig. 1. The disposition of the Ekādaśa Rudra pantheon in Bali

Thus, the name of the festival *Karia Taur Agung Ekādaśa Rudra* can be freely rendered in English as 'Great Ceremonial Offering to the Eleven Rudras'. The ideal cycle of the festival is once every hundred years, that is at the beginning of every century according to the *Isaka* interpolation. However, in 1963, it was said that the festival had not been performed for nearly three centuries. During the period in which the festival had been neglected, many calamities had fallen on Bali, so it was decided to perform the ceremony in 1963 even though this did not coincide with the start of a new century according to *Isaka* interpolation. It was considered that the island was badly in need of purification.

It was not without reason that the temple of Besakih was chosen as the place for the festival, since Besakih is the central temple for all the Hindu Balinese people, and the purification ceremony was to be made for the welfare of the island (*prāyaścitta ning bumi*). It is only in this temple that such a kind of festival can be carried out. Other important rituals carried out in this temple are the annual cycle festival *Betara Turun Kabeh* and the decennial festival *Pañca bali krama.*

Actually, the temple of Besakih consists of 18 temples, namely: 1. Pengubengan Temple, 2. Peninjoan Temple, 3. Gelap Temple, 4. Batu Madeg Temple, 5. Penataran Agung Temple, 6. Tirta Temple, 7. Kiduling Kreteg Temple, 8. Basukian Temple, 9. Jenggala or Hiang Galuh Temple, 10. Banoa (Banua) Temple, 11. Merajan Kanginan Temple, 12. Goa Temple, 13. Merejan Selonding Temple, 14. Ulun Kulkul Temple, 15. Bangun Sakti Temple, 16. Manik Mas Temple, 17. Dalem Puri Temple, and 18. Pesimpangan Temple.

The most important temple in the whole complex is the Penataran Agung, which lies approximately in the middle of the complex. Although the temple of Besakih has been an important sanctuary as far back as prehistoric times, and there still exist many prehistoric elements in the worship, the Balinese focus their worship at the *Sanggar Agung* an altar to the *Tri Murti*, the Hindu Trinity, *Brahmā*, *Śiwa* and *Wiṣṇu*. The altar can be found at the temple just mentioned above.

The most important rituals preceding the *Taur Agung Ekādaśa Rudra* were the cremation ceremonies which were carried out all over the island. A cremation is one of the *Pitra yajña* group of ceremonies and it was important for all outstanding cremations to be completed, so that all obligations to deceased ancestors were discharged, before the main festival itself. The Balinese believe that their first duty is to their ancestors and that it is not auspicious to perform

Dewa yajña or *buta yajña* before the completion of any outstanding *Pitra yajña.*

The sacrificial offering festival of *Ekādaśa Rudra* was carried out by the Government of Bali, since the vassal principalities of former times which were responsible for the performance of such a festival are no longer in existence today. The festival was preceded by some related rituals, particularly in connection with the preparation of the offerings which were necessary. These preparations were carried out in the *Puri* of the ex-King of Klungkung.

The main festival was preceded by a chain of preliminary ceremonies, and one of the most important was the *melelasti* ceremony (*mekekobok*, *mekiis*, *melis*) i.e. a ceremony with the object of purifying *prelinggas* (statuettes and other sacred objects attributed to the gods) which were kept in the temple of Besakih.

The *melelasti* was carried out on the day of *Redite-Pon*, March 3, 1963. Shouldering the sacred objects, they marched the long journey on foot, started from the temple of Penataran Agung to the sea of Klotok at the southern shore of Klungkung and then came back through Klungkung and Tobola in the region of Karangasem. Along the road, the villagers paid homage and made offerings to the sacred objects.

The purification festival of the *Taur Agung Ekādaśa Rudra* was held on the 8th of March 1963, that is on *Śukra* (Friday), *Pon*, *wuku Julungwangi* according to the *dewasa* almanac. Despite the devastating eruption of Gunung Agung, in general the whole festival was accomplished on time and was prepared on the field to the left hand side of the forecourt of the *Penataran Agung* and Basukian Temples. The preparations were started early in the morning, though the actual festival was begun at noon (*jegjeg surya*).

Each of the *Ekādaśa Rudra*, according to their respective positions, was proffered the same pattern of offerings, placed in a group of temporary pavilions and altars especially built for the occasion. Since these pavilions were erected only for the festival and not as permanent shrines for repeated use, it is possible to regard them as part of the offering itself. The pattern was: *bale panggungan* (offering altar), *sunari* (a wind pipe made from an upright bamboo), *rerajahan Yamarāja* (a sacred drawing dedicated to Yamarāja, in this case, a drawing of the weapons of the Eleven Rudras), *bale pawedan* (pavilion for *Śiwa* and *Boda* priests), *suku telu* (a triangle shaped offering altar), *bebangkit dangsil* (a small *meru* made from bamboo, the number of roofs determined by the numerological value given to each respective Dewa), five *sanggar cucuks* (five small altars made from bamboo), and *sanggar tawang* (tripartite temporary altar of bamboo for offerings). There were eleven such groups, as is shown on the map in figure 2 on the opposite page.

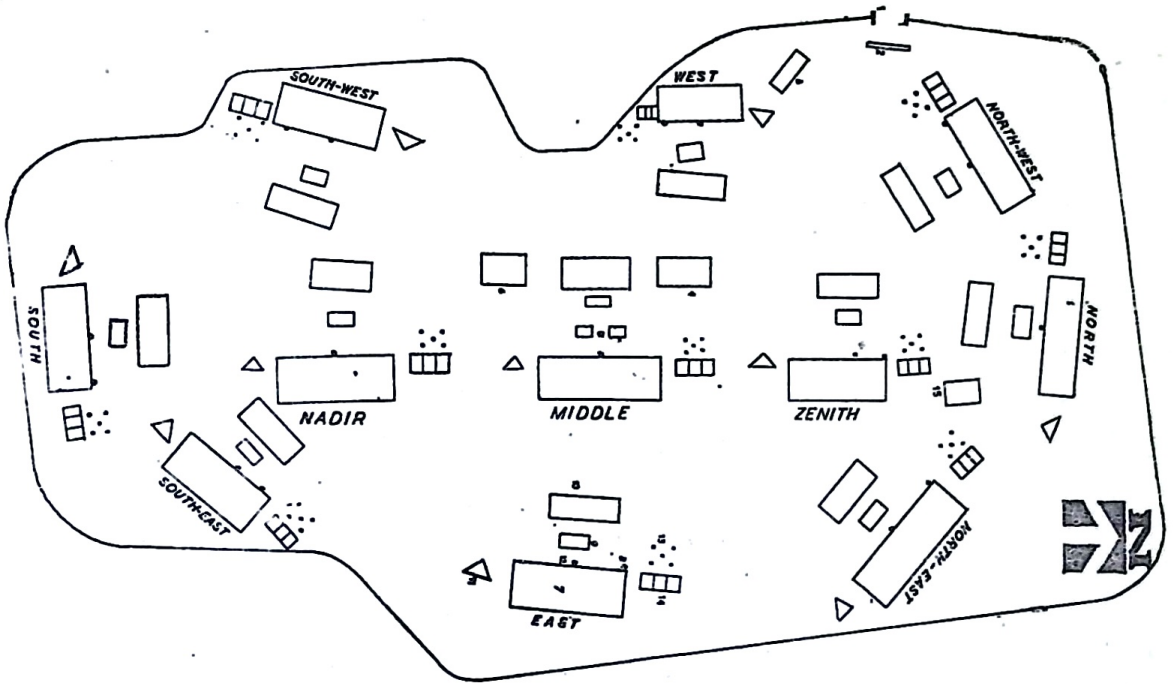


Fig. 2. Map of the layout of the Ekādaśa Rudra ceremony.

1. *kori* (the entrance to the place of the ceremony).
2. *sarad* (illustration made on white cloth depicting the weapons of Ekādaśa Rudra and it stands behind the entrance).
3. *panggungan wayang* (pavilion for a puppet shadow play).
4. *bale pawedan Senggu* (pavilion for the Senggu priest).
5. 2 *tepases* (two heaps which contain *Śiwa* and *Umā* drawings).
6. *bale sang madue karia* (pavilion for the owner of the ceremony).
7. *bale panggungan* (offering altar).
8. *sunari* (a wind pipe made from upright bamboo).
9. *rerajahan Yamarāja* (the sacred drawing of Yamarāja, in this case, a drawing of the weapons of the Eleven Rudras).
10. *bale pawedan* (pavilion for Śiwa and Boda priests).
11. *suku telu* (offering altar in triangle form).
12. *bebangkit dangsil* (a small meru made from bamboo, the number of roofs determined by the numerological value given to each respective Dewa).
13. *5 sanggar cucuks* (five small altars made from bamboos).
14. *sanggar tawang* (tripartite temporary altar of bamboo for offering).
15. *bale paselang* (a kind of pavilion to put offering in).

A few hours before the sacrifice was offered they carried out a set of activities called *ngerajah*, that was to make sacred drawings of *rerajahan Yamarāja* and *ngerajah pedudusan*. The *rerajahan Yamarāja* depict the various weapons or *senjata*, *pesikepan* attributed to each of the *dewa*.

The *rerajahan* was made on a flat piece of buffalo skin, chiselled to various shapes and completed by spreading a mixture of *tepung tawar* over it. The *tepung tawar* shaped the distinctive form of each weaponry, raised from the flat background of the buffalo skin. The weapons were arranged in a circle, namely: *Neraca* (means Scale— in the Zenith), *Padma* (Lotus— Middle), *Cakra* Discus —Nadir), *Daṇḍa* (Stick— South), *Dupa* (Incense-bowl— South-East), *Bajra* (Thunderbolt— East), *Triśūla* (Trident— North-East). *Gadā* (Mace— North), *Dwaja* (Flag— North-West), *Nāgapāśa* (Snake Arrow— West) and *Moksala* (Club— South-West).

Rajah pedudusan (the sacred drawing effective for purification) was also drawn of *tepung tawar* depicting *padma kembang di kiwa* 'lotus blooming on the left', and *padma pusuh di tengen* 'lotus bud on the right'. These were drawn on a flat basket work called *nyiru*.

The *ngerajah* was followed by giving *punia* (alms) to the officiating *pedandas* by the government of Bali.

Exactly at 12 o'clock noon the *Taur* was offered. The Saiwa Brahmin priests, the Boda Brahmin priests and the Sengguhu or Bujangga (the exorcist priest) were seated to officiate the ceremony (*mepios*). They started by giving *pedudusan* (purification) to the Governor and the eight Bupatis of Bali and hence they were spiritually pure during the period of the offering ceremony.

Now we come to what was considered to be the most important stage in this offering ceremony, that is the preparation of *Ajengan Taur*. It was made of flour scraped from the *rerajahan Yamarāja*. The scraping was collected in the centre where the *padma* was situated. At this stage the priests muttered their prayers (*weda*) to be followed by an operation called *nyarub*, essentially to pick up a little bit of the contents of the offerings and mix them up with the flour scraping of the *rerajahan Yamarāja*.

Again the priests muttered their prayers and then they made a series of similar pattern of operations. First, they divided the flour mixture into five portions, then the portions were collected again into a single heap. For the second time, the heap was divided but now into four portions, and again the portions were collected to form a heap. The heap was divided for the third

time into three portions and again collected to form a heap. Finally it was divided into two portions and then it was collected again into one whole mixture and the *Ajengan Taur* was put into an earthenware container called *paso Yamarāja*. The priests muttered their prayers for the last time directed to *Ajengan Taur* while putting intoit a *kumaligi*, a *padma*, and a *tarub*.

Now the *paso Yamarāja* was transferred into the *panggungan*, an offering altar divided into three compartments, erected directly facing the *bale pawedan* which is a pavilion for the officiating Siwa and Boda priests.

We reach now the culminating stage of the ceremony. All of the public participants of the ceremony were called in, seated and they prayed together led by the priests. That was the most sacred moment when the malevolent characters of the Ekādaśa Rudra were transformed into the benevolent gods and reunited with Śiwa, the Lord of Creation, as can be seen inscribed on the two *tepase* laid down in the centre:

Siwa metu saking Kala (Śiwa springs from Kāla)

and *Uma metu saking Durga* (Umā springs from Durgā).

The ceremony was terminated by distributing *Tirta* (holy water), carried away to all parts of Bali island, sprinkled to purify the land from all kinds of spiritual impurities.

Later, on *Saniscara-Wage, Julungwangi* i. e. March 9, 1963, another festival *Batara Turun Rabeh* was carried out, and finally the long chain of festivals in the temple of Besakih was concluded on the day of *Saniscara-Umanis, Pujut*, April 20, 1963 by a ceremony called *Penyimpenan* (the closing down ceremony).

In connection with the festival, one of the effects which still can be felt today particularly in the southern region of Bali, has been in the performance of *Pitra yajña* ceremonies, particularly the cremation ceremony. Before the *Taur Agung Ekādaśa Rudra* in 1963, the government ordered all people, as we said above, to complete all outstanding *Pitra yajña* ceremonies. This resulted in many poor people grouping together to pool their resources in a mass cremation, a practice which is carried on to the present day. This type of cremation is known as *Ngegalung* or *Ngerit*. Another effect has been that today, cremations are usually carried out, in the shortest possible time after the person's death and in a much simpler form.

What is clearly significant as regards the above-mentioned festival, is the resulting simplification of the cremation ceremony, something which had been sought for since the modernization of the Hindu Religion in Bali, but previously these efforts had been without much success.

Srimati KAMALA RATNAM, NEW DELHI

THE RĀMĀYAṆA IN LAOS

MAHASILA OF LAOS

The most knowledgeable person about Lao (Lava) literature, in modern times, is a simple unassuming man called Mahasila Viravong. When I went to see him in 1961, to collect information about the Laotian story of the Rāmāyaṇa, he had removed his shirt in the hot humid sun and was working in his small garden. Mahasila is a comparatively young man and is the only scholar in Laos, besides the bhikkhus and the princely families who can give some information about the intellectual and artistic life of this tiny kingdom. At the time of our meeting Mahasila was working on Phongsavadan Lao (History of Laos) at the behest of the then Lava Government headed by Suvannaphouma and his associates. Mahasila has this to say about the earliest records of Laos: "The area which constitutes today the territory of Laos included, 2500 years ago, parts of Burma, Malaya, Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam. It was called then Souvannaphoum Pathet (Suvarṇabhūmi Pradeśa) or Laem Thong or Muong Xieng Thong (Muong meaning province or Pradeśa, Thong meaning gold). These regions were supposed to be rich in gold, consequently the first name which the Lava people gave to their capital was Muong Xieng Thong".

Souvannaphoum Pathet was a large peninsula which was situated between the Indian Ocean and the China sea, and this was the reason why, the Europeans when they came to colonise these parts, at a later date, called it Indo-China.

LAOS — LAND AND EARLY HISTORY

In the entire land-mass known as Indo-China, the area which represents Indian culture is comprised by Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and some parts of Malaysia. Out of these Laos may truly be considered the unspoilt heart of India. The smiling, gentle and beauty-loving people of Laos represent in themselves all that India has wished to be through her saints and the Bhakti movement or the path of devotion. In the beginning Souvannapathet or Indo-China was inhabited by people of Khmer or Lava origin. We know that quite some time before the first century B. C., Indian explorers had reached the peninsula

of Suvarṇabhūmi and had established kingdoms there. Chinese records mention a certain Huen Tien, who is no other than Kauṇḍinya, a Brāhmaṇa from India, and who married the Queen of Fu-Nan and established a Hindu kingdom there. Fu-Nan is modern Cambodia. R. C. Majumdar says that a Hindu kingdom also existed in Laos and a Hindu dynasty ruled over Siam (Thailand) and Laos in about the sixth century A. D. The people of Cambodia even today are known as Khmer. In his *Phongsavadan Lao* Mahasila says "The Khmer race is of ancient Indian descent. This race has given birth to various ethnic groups known as the Khmer, Mon, Meng, Kha, Khamu and Malay". The Khmer came to settle down in Souvannaphoum Pathet even before the advent of the Buddha, 2500 years ago. But the largest migration took place in the reign of "Aśoka Rāja who ruled Pataribud (Pāṭaliputra) from the year 218 to 227 B. E. (325-316 B. C.)".

Now it is well known that Emperor Aśoka engaged in a bloody war at Kaliṅga and Mahasila thinks that "Because of this war thousands of Indians have migrated from the southern part of India to live in Indo-China. In the light of this mass migration, King Aśoka Rāja was so upset and decided to turn to Buddhism to find a solution to end it." Meanwhile the Brāhmaṇa king Jayavarman III of Cambodia built the stone temple at Nokorn Thom in 857 A. D. "Later in 1057 A. D., another Khmer king built the temple known as Angkor Wat with the same Brāhmaṇa style and designs." During the 200 years between the building of these two temples the Khmers became very powerful and extended their kingdom "upto Xieng Sen and Xieng Rai and in this same period, the Lao had started to migrate from the south of China and in their southward drive they clashed with the Khmers."

THE LAO RACE

Mahasila claims the origin of the Lao race as one amongst the first four that came into being about 100,000 years back. The ancestors of the Lao race came from the Ai-Lao who were settled in the valleys of the Hwang-Ho and Yang Tse rivers in the heart of mainland China. The Ai-Lao were mainly agricultural people. According to Mahasila the word *Lao* means big or civilized.

The ancient Lava people were unmistakeably related to the Chinese as were the Thais. However the Lava being temperamentally kind-hearted and peace-loving, were obliged to move southward by the more aggressive Chinese. This pressure continued until the Lao were restricted and cribbed in their present little land-stretch of 600 miles which is known as the "Land of a Million

Elephants Kingdom of the White Parasol." Lying north-west to the vast plain of the Mekong (Me=mother, Kong=Gaṅgā) river the land rises high into plateau and then on to jungle covered mountains where rivers are invariably the sole means of communication. This and her location in the centre of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, go far towards explaining why Laos has remained so long off the beaten track and outside normal commercial channels. And this is also the reason why she has retained her culture. Because the Lava truly are one of the last people on earth who possess and keep alive the richest and most generous of human qualities cultivated by the inhabitants of this earth. Their isolation has proved a cultural boon to them. Following the Indian way of life and the teachings of the Buddha, which found expression in their art and poetry, the Lava have remained a people of simple customs and habits deeply marked by a religious awareness synthesised by a feeling of peace and brotherhood with all living beings.

EARLY HISTORY

Very little is known about the early political history of Laos. According to legends the earliest known historical king of Central Cambodia who ruled over Laos as well, is Śrutavarman. He laid the foundation of a royal house. Except his son Śreṣṭhavarman, no other ruler is known. The capital of his kingdom Śreṣṭhapura named after him, was situated around Vat Phu Hill near Bassac in Laos (R. C. Majumdar). It appears that Laos was under the Khmer Empire till about the 12th century A. D. Subsequently the Thai held sway over certain Laotian territory. By the end of the 13th century they were in control of the two principal cities Luang Prabang and Vientiane. Then followed a period of political confusion; different royal houses were asserting for supremacy. After the downfall of the Thai Kingdom of Sukhothai by about 1345 A.D., a new Thai dynasty was founded at Ayuthya in 1349. The weakening of the kingdom of Sukhothai and its submission to the kingdom of Ayuthya favoured the founding of the Lao State proper.

Fa Ngum founds the Lava State. According to Lava sources the father of the Lava State was Fa Ngum, son of an exiled Lao chief, who had taken refuge at the court of Angkor. The young prince was raised there by a Buddhist preceptor and when he had reached the age of sixteen, the Khmer king gave him one of his own daughters in marriage. At some point between 1340 and 1350 Fa Ngum took command of an army to reconquer the lost lands of his father on the upper Mekong. Fa Ngum moved upriver and, after detouring the plateaux of Xieng Khouang, Houaphanh and Sip Song Phanna, the expedi-

tion descended on the site of Luang Prabang, where he was proclaimed King. Fa Ngum then campaigned against Xieng Mai in the upper Menam Valley. On his return he took control of Vientiane and from there swept on to the Khorat Plateau as far as Roi. And finally after having organized the conquered lands, he went back to Luang Prabang where in 1353, he was solemnly installed as "Sovereign of the Kingdom of Lan Xang (Million Elephants)".

The installation of Prabang. The consolidation of the Lao State under a truly Laotian head in the person of Fa Ngum, meant that Brahmanic and Buddhist civilizations and culture—through Khmer and Thai influences which had hardly reached farther than Vientiane, now spread over the upper Mekong regions as well. Under thc influence of his deeply religious Khmer queen, Fa Ngum invited his old spiritual teacher from Angkor and brought to the new capital the celebrated statue of Buddha known as Prabang whence the present name of the Royal capital Luang Prabang. We shall have occasion to speak more of the historic one-foot high golden statue now preserved in the Royal Chapel at Luang Prabang.

The kingdom continues. In a splendid work known as *Kingdom of Laos* (France Asie, 1956) published when Laos finally emerged as a free country out of the ashes of the second world war, A. R. Mathien gives a long list of kings and kingdoms and their internecine wars between the period 1353 and 1955 A. D. when the capital of Laos was continually changing. We shall, however, not go into these details. For all facts and purposes Luang Prabang continued to be the capital of Laos for a long time, until a great ruler and statesman, one of the successors of Fa Ngum by name Sethathirath shifted the capital to Vientiane in 1563 due to military and commercial reasons. In 1559 Phothisarath, the father of Setthathirath had died and "the Burmese King Bureng-Naung troubled that Lan Xang should be so prosperous" attacked this tiny kingdom. Setthathirath refused battle and made a treaty of alliance with the Thai in order to neutralize the common threat from Burma. However, the Burmese invasions continued until towards the end of the sixteenth century Laos was defeated by the Burmese and occupied by them. The internecine wars resulted in the division of Laos in 1694 into two kingdoms with dual capitals at Luang Prabang and Vientiane with the king staying in Luang Prabang and the seat of the Government being Vientiane. It was a queer situation. Then Thailand situated across the river, twice invaded Vientiane in 1778 and 1828, razing it to the ground on both occasions. Like a ripe fruit dripping with succulence, Laos was never in want of enemies. The Thais continued

their intrigues until in 1885 they took the help of various foreign powers, particularly the British to extend and intensify their influence over Laos. At this time France was in control of the Vietnamese territory and the Emperor of Annam invited the French to intervene with the threatening Thais on his behalf. It was in this way that France created its first unauthorised consulate in Luang Prabang in 1885. The French influence over Laos continued till the end of the Second World War in 1945, when the Japanese troops entered Laos and occupied it for a short time, clearing the French out of the place.

The Geneva Treaty and after. After the signing of the Geneva Convention in 1954, Laos was admitted to the United Nations and for the first time after centuries began to hope for her true independence and sovereignty. It was in such circumstances that we reached Laos on 19th May, 1959, my husband was given his first Ambassadorial appointment and we were to represent our country in this highly interesting land. At the time of our arrival King Savanga Vatthana had just come to the throne in place of his late father His Majesty King Sisavong Vong who had been ruling the State since 1903. Throughout these turbulent days King Savanga Vatthana as the Crown Prince and as a young and maturing man had been witness to the long drama of Laotian independence. At last freedom had been won and it was for him to consolidate it.

THE SEARCH FOR THE RAMAYANA BEGINS

Before leaving India, we had gone to seek blessings and briefing about Laos from the late Rishi Dr. Raghuvira, who was a veritable repository of Indian and Asian culture. Dr. Raghuvira told me to be sure and bring back for him a copy or if that were not possible a micro-film of the Lava Rāmāyaṇa. Consequently soon after arrival I began making attempts to gather some information about the Rāmāyaṇa story in Laos. The entire Indo-China peninsula including Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and Thailand was the recipient of Indian culture and civilization epitomized by the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata and later the Buddhist philosophy of the Theravāda school which came here via Ceylon (Sri Lanka). While Buddhism provided the moral basis and a practical code for daily life, the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata became entrenched in the emotional and artistic life of the people of the peninsula. In time the art of temple-building, sculpture, carving on wood and stone, drama, theatre and ballet drew their inspiration from the episodes of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. Since artistic expression requires ample material resources and comparative freedom from the cares of daily life, the Royal Courts became the repositories of the Rāmāyaṇa culture. The Buddhist temples with their deep humanistic

approach were catering to the social needs of the community by providing seminaries, schools, hospitals and homes for the aged, disabled and the poor while their walls and corridors were being embellished and beautified by the nurals and paintings depicting scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. In many temples figures of pre-Buddhistic Hindu gods and goddesses were boldly chiselled or carved out of wood and stone. Thus Buddhism and the Brahmanic culture existed side by side, often merging one with the other, providing rich spiritual fare for the simple and artistic people of greater India. In all these countries the art and colour of the Rāmāyaṇa provided a splendid canopy for the preservation and protection of the pure moral teachings of the Buddha.

FIRST VISIT TO LUANG PRABANG

Having presented our credentials to His Majesty King Savanga Vatthana at the Royal Capital, we lost no time in beginning our search for the Lava artistic treasures. We began with Luang Prabang itself. This tiny Royal city is situated among a cluster of low hills, gently rising from the right bank of the Mekong River. The only practical way to reach it is by plane and it requires great skill and ingenuity on the part of the pilot to make a safe landing on the makeshift mountainous patch which serves the purpose of an airport. Luang Prabang like Varanasi or Mathura is a city of temples with this difference, every temple here is a work of art, it is beautiful and well-kept and every inch of ground within and outside the temple precinct is spotlessly clean. I counted 41 Wats or temples in Luang Prabang dating from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries A. D. and I saw as many of them as I could. The whole panorama of the triple-carved roof supported by guilded and carved wooden pylons, walls encrusted with murals enfolding within themselves like an embroidered cloth of gold the shining Buddha image all set within spacious corridors and shady groves of mango, frangipani or champa, coconut and jackfruit trees, passed before our eyes like an enchanted movie. We were the first Hindus from India who had expressed a desire to offer worship in the Royal Chapel after presenting credentials. It was then that His Majesty King Savanga Vatthana introduced us to his private library of books on Indian philosophy and related to us the remarkable story of the golden Buddha statue 'Prabang' from which the capital derives its name. It so happened that during the last Thai invasion the Lava people could not think of a place safe enough to hide the 'Prabang' from the greedy eyes of the Thais (the Thais had previously made many futile attempts to take possession of the statue). In the end being unable

to think of a safer place, they hid it under the sandy bed of the river Mekong, Ma Ganga (Mother Gaṅgā) just like an innocent child deposits his most precious possessions in the lap of his mother. And mother Mekong proved faithful to their trust, when the Thais withdrew, the Prabang was recovered from the river-bed unharmed in all its pristine glory. By now His Majesty the King had removed the statue from its niche; he was holding it in his hand. As he talked to us, he passed his hand lovingly over the body of the figure and showed us the wave-like marks on the golden surface made by the passing of the river water. The Prabang statue 'Palladium of the Lava Kingdom' had lain under water for twelve years, suffering the enemy's torments and these were battle marks on its warrior body. The Prabang image was carved by Ceylonese artists and was held in high veneration by the Khmers of Cambodia. It was already 500 years old when it was presented to Fa Ngum by his father-in-law. It was the symbol of the founding of the Lao Kingdom and as such of deep emotional and mystic significance to the people. We were very grateful that the head of the Laotian State had shared this experience with us.

THE RAMAYANA IN VAT MAI AND VAT PA KE

By special orders of the King an expert guide was provided to accompany us to the temples. I must record here that it took repeated enquiry and constant probing to eke out any information about the Lava Rāmāyaṇa from our guide. The Lao people are deeply immersed in their culture and are quite unconscious of it. It is all part of one complete whole, the living heart and mind of Laos, in the totality of which no differences can be seen and no questions asked. However we had come here with a mission and it was necessary to ask questions. At last we were able to discover two temples in Luang Prabang which contain parts of the Rāmāyaṇa story. Vat Mai situated opposite the Royal palace and constructed in 1796 by King Phra Chao Anourout, (Beloved Prince Aniruddha), it has a wooden pylon supporting its roof. Upon its beam are carved certain episodes of the Lava Rāmāyaṇa, the story of the birth of Rāvaṇa and the story of Nang Savaha (Lady Savaha) mother of Hanumān and how she came to grief for having spied against her mother Nang Atchana (Lady Añjanā) and her many loves. Louis Finot in his researches on Laos (*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 17[1917]) has this to say about Vat Mai, "It is situated to the south of the Palace. It was built over an older pagoda called Vat Si Phum. Vat Mai means the new pagoda. It was built by King Aniruddha in 1796. It enshrines the statue Pra Ban which was previously at Vat Vixun. Vat Mai probably possessed the richest library in

Luang Prabang. These books formed the first base of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient as they were donated by the Bhikkhu (monk) of the monastery in 1900. A fire in 1913 destroyed them completely". It may be noted in passing that Vat Vixun built in 1503 is a most remarkable temple, especially from the Indian point of view The figure of the Caturbhuja Nārāyaṇa is carved on its front doors. Nārāyaṇa is riding the Garuḍa and holds a bow, cakra (disc), mace and maṇi in his four hands. On other panels are shown Indra riding his elephant Airāvata, and Brahmā seated on a lotus, out of his four faces three are visible. Brahmā's *adhovastra* (lower garment) is beautifully complicated and the palms of the hands are well marked. The fourth panel shows Śiva riding on his bull. Śiva is in his Rudra mudrā, his garland has ends made of fire and the drapery around him is beautiful. The bull has two horns and his face resembles that of a horse. It is interesting to note that originally there ware ne cows or bulls in Laos, these were later imported from India. Hence early Lava artists did not know how to portray a cow or a bull. Thus all the three gods, Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa and Śiva together with Indra are present in this temple. Inside the temple, there is a scene of battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa; Hanumān and other characters are also present. This painting was executed by the orders of the father of King Phetsarath. Previously candles were offered in worship here as is evident by the marks of an iron-railing in front of the painting. This railing has now been removed.

Henri Parmentier, the author of the standard book on the art of Laos (published in 1954), began his detailed survey of Lava temples in 1922 and continued work on it till 22nd February 1949 the day of his death. The results of his life-long labour were published posthumously by his devoted wife. Parmentier gives a detailed description of Vat Mai including the fact that the hall and the doors are ornamented by figures of Europeans, Dutch or Venetian, "thereby substantiating the fact that the Thai and the Lava people did not like the occupation of their country by foreigners and they often depicted them in servile and humiliating postures in their temple architecture. I have noticed similar depiction of foreign figures in the temples of Vat Po at Bangkok. Inspite of his detailed analysis of the temples, Parmentier fails to give any particulars of the subject matter of the wood carvings within the temple, when in fact the story of the birth of Rāvaṇa and the birth of Hanumān is carved in detail upon the central beam supporting the roof of Vai Mai. I shall not give details of this story here, as it is incorporated in full in the description of the Rāmāyaṇa murals painted on the inner walls of Vat Pa Ke which will follow. It has to be noted that hoth Louis Finot and Parmentier do not mention the Rāmāyaṇa in

their descriptions, in fact they do not seem to know that the wood-carving in this temple has anything to do with the famous Rāmāyaṇa story. The doors of Vat Mai are richly carved with figures of gods and yakṣas from Hindu mythology. Failing to recognise these, Parmentier has simply mentioned them as "personages wearing *mukuṭa* under a halo, dressed sumptuously in a sarong and adorned with many jewels". He also notices that "their badly drawn legs rest on various animals gajasiṁha, serpent with paws, zebu (humped bull as is found only in India. Zebu is derived from Śiva's Bull), lion etc." Surprisingly Parmentier makes no attempt to identify these animals, nor does he show any just and scholarly curiosity to discover their relationship with their riders. For without doubt these are figures of Viṣṇu and Śiva resting on the serpent *Śesanāga* and the bull Nandī together with their various attendants. It has to be noted that Śiva worship was prevalent in Laos and Cambodia as is evidenced by the town known as Śambhupura (modern Sambog) situated on the banks of the river Mekong. Thus the worship of Śiva and his family Gaṇeśa, Pārvatī and Kārtikeya and that of Viṣṇu was well-known in the Central Mekong Valley.

RAMAYANA MURALS IN VAT PA KE

Our real find of the treasure of the Rāmāyaṇa murals was in Vat Pa ke or Pa Khey. According to our guide *Pa* means *Vana* or forest and *Ke* means fruit-tree. Louis Finot has this to say about Vat Pa ke. "It is situated at the foot of Pra Bat. Date not known. Reconstructed in 1851 by Chao Chantarat." Our guide told us that by order of the Government Vat Pa ke is now under Vat Pa Fan or Fang. Louis Finot records that Fan is campeachy wood or log-wood and the Vat was built by Sen Moxa towards the year 1700. Parmentier has given a detailed description of this temple as well. He mentions female figures carved on the doors, with their feet resting on lions and calls them apsarās. Apparently Parmentier failed to recognize these figures as Devi Pārvatī or Durgā riding on her lion or *siṁha*. Vat Pa Fan is an important temple as it has four Thats or Stūpas, supposedly containing relics of the Buddha. The separate building of the library, with a porch, double roof and a handsome window is beautifully painted.

VAT PA KE AND ITS RAMAYANA PAINTINGS

However the temple of our main interest is Vat Pa ke. Parmentier has this to say about this Vat. "It is a Vat of simple type with a unique hall and porch. Inside, the floor is of black lacquer, very high pedestal, the ceiling continues with beams and girders which are lacquered with red and gold with many decorated

windows above the altar. There are ridiculous paintings on the walls (readers should note that these are the famous Rāmāyaṇa paintings we have been waiting for!). Five doors, of which two are in the northern wall (Parmentier, pp. 57, 58). Then follows a detailed description of the exterior of the temple, doors, porches, roof, columns, costume and other accessories of a Dutchman painted on one of the doors. Inside on the pedestal there is the Buddha statue in bhūmisparśa mudrā and then follows a description of the walls and furniture.

It is interesting to note that Parmentier has not described the Buddha statue in detail nor has he made any attempt to understand the wooden carvings on the outside of doors and pillars. Such as those representing figures blowing conch-shells, riding tiger or deer, or figures carrying the triśūla riding the lion, yet others riding buffalo or *gajasiṁha*, when he has noticed details like water and a bird painted under the buffalo. Some of the objects painted are clearly associated with God Śiva and members of his entourage and as such should be easy to recognise. On the other hand Parmentier devotes two whole paragraphs to the details of the European figures in Dutch and Venetian costumes surrounded by figures of dogs, rabbits and birds which are painted on the outer doors. He also puts forward a curious theory that the Laotian painter perhaps drew inspiration from the Chinese books which often represented figures of foreigners and whose presence is testified by the Chinese design of the ceramics used for the balustrades. There are two *fo* dogs at the entrance, carved in stone, their paws covered with wooden *sabots* which are also of Chinese design. In my opinion the presence of European figures on the outer walls of temples in Laos, Thailand and Cambodia cannot be so easily explained away as being a result of Chinese influence.

DUTCH FIGURES ON TEMPLE WALLS AND HISTORY OF EUROPEAN EXPANSION IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

In this connection let us take a look at the history of European expansion in South East Asia. In 1641 the Governor of the Dutch East Indies, General Antoine van Dieman, an ambitious and farseeing man had sent a Dutchman Gerritt von Westhoff with a letter and some cheap presents to the King of Laos with an idea of promoting trade with that country. He has left a diary containing the account of his visit. One of his assistants has recorded that during the time he was there, two Portuguese priests visited Vientiane. They brought the king of Laos two little white dogs...a rabbit and other articles. "This account clearly explains the presence of the two dogs and the European figures, dogs,

rabbits, birds and all painted on the outside walls of Vat Pa Ke which is an important temple of the capital Luang Prabang. It must be remembered that at the end of the 16th century the Dutch following the example of the Portuguese and the Spaniards had set out to conquer the Eastern spice market. By the beginning of the 17th century there were Dutch settlements in most of these islands with their capital in Batavia (Jakarta) from whence they sent out reconnoitring missions to Indo-China in order to conquer fresh markets. During our visits to Laos, Thailand and Cambodia, we were specially shown such paintings depicting these Dutch and Portuguese figures which appear here and there in their temples and which are always found painted in places of little significance like door-attendant (*dvārapāla*) etc. It is obvious that the artist in depicting these images was being true to life and was not painting any imaginary figure taken out of a Chinese book.

FAILURE OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARS TO IDENTIFY THE RAMAYANA PAINTINGS

With regard to the Rāmāyaṇa paintings, the question now arises as to why the two French scholars Louis Finot and Henry Parmentier failed to identify the figures as personages from Hindu Puranic lore and the Rāmāyaṇa epic. The absence of this knowledge about the paintings is specially to be noted in a work of such dimensions, scope and thoroughness as that of Parmentier. To my mind there can be only three reasons:

1. Genuine ignorance. They really did not know.
2. The possibility that the local monks and guides did not wish to explain to them the true significance of the paintings which were part of their religious and spiritual tradition, as they were members of a foreign colonial rule.
3. The third is the extremely unlikely possibility that having recognized the paintings in their true context, the European scholars did not want to give credit to Pan-Indian culture and the part it had played in the world in those early times. In other words deliberate denigration in conformity with the mood of the times, as an example of which we may quote from George Coedès, who writing in 1956 says "unfortunately most Europeans are ignorant of practically the whole Indo-Chinese history and are still at the stage of Saint Hillaire's summary opinion when he wrote in 1861 that India beyond the Ganges was "scarcely worth a historians glance!".

The 18th and 19th centuries belong to European expansion and conquest. European scholars of this period did not like to give a place of honour to any eastern nation, especially India who was the cultural mother of them all, which would downgrade the European civilization as secondary and of later develop-

ment. Amongst the nations which bore witness to Indian civilization, George Coedès gives pride of place to Laos. "It was from Laos...that Indian cultural expansion was extended to China and Viet Nam". Laos accepted the cultural influences of India and blended them into a typically Laotian whole. And "having inherited Indian culture...Laos has defended it against Chinese culture". Laos has continued to carry out her mission as defender of Indian civilization and rampart against Chinese invasion with unflagging courage, and it is this mission, together with her great historical past, that today confers upon Laos a pre-eminent place in the world. It is to be noted with some satisfaction that India realised this long ago and gave due respect and brotherly affection to the Lava people.

THE RAMAYANA STORY IN VAT PA KE, LUANG PRABANG

And finally we come to the Rāmāyaṇa story as told on the inner walls of Vat Pa ke.

In Laos the Rāmāyaṇa is present in four forms: (1) dance (2) song, (3) painting and sculpture, (4) literature (preserved in palmleaf manuscripts), and enjoys popularity in that order. Rāmāyaṇa as dance-drama enjoys pride of place in the Royal Palace on solemn occasions and grand festivals. When Princess Dala (Tārā), daughter of King Savanga Vatthana was married, the Rāmāyaṇa was danced in full regalia and splendour in the Royal Palace of Luang Prabang. The *Ṅatya Sala* or the dance-school in Vientiane teaches it regularly to its pupils. With the dance-drama goes its appropriate music and song. Rāmāyaṇa as painting and sculpture is seen within the temples. In its richest forms it is found in the court temples of Luang Prabang. In the Vat Oup Muong of Vientiane the Rāmāyaṇa is painted in water-colours on the four walls of the Chapel. Munuscripts of the Rāmāyaṇa are not easy to find or even to see. H. E. Thao Nhouy Abhay, Minister for Education, in 1960 told me that the Rāmāyaṇa is part of Lava imagination and intellectual life and that it had not been published in book-form from any manuscripts so far. In his reply dated 23.12.66, to Acharya Dr. Lokesh Chandra, Director, International Academy of Indian Culture, Sarasvati Vihar, New Delhi, Keo Viphakone Ministre d'État á la Prevoyance Sociale, stated: "The Lava Rāmāyaṇa exists in manuscripts form in 40 bundles of 20 leaves each. It is in the process of being copied from palm-leaf". Inspite of my repeated enquiries in Vientiane, I was not able to see this manuscript. I was told that it was preserved in Vat Pra Keo Vientiane which is being used as a museum now. The manuscript was not handled or taken out for fear of being damaged or destroyed. I was also told by

another source that the manuscript of the Rāmāyaṇa in Vat Pra Keo contains one volume in Thamma characters. It is dated 1931. There are two other volumes in Vat Sisaket (Sri Saketa, Sāketa is the old name of Ayodhyā the capital of Śrī Rāma)*.

Notwithstanding the above, the French scholars H. Deydier and P. B. Lafont certainly had access to this or some other manuscript of the Lava Rāmāyaṇa, for both have prepared notes and summaries of it in 1954 and 1957. Although Lafont has promised a translation of the whole text at a later date, it appears to me that we shall have to wait for several years before we can hold a copy of the original Lava Rāmāyaṇa in our hands and study it as a text. Since India is celebrating this year the 400th anniversary of the writing of the Rāmāyaṇa by Tulsidas, it is in the fitness of things that an Indian scholar should take up the task of editing and publishing the Lava manuscript and preparing a translation.

SUMMARY OF PA LAK PA LAM

P. B. Lafont's summary refers to the two versions of the Rāmāyaṇa found in Laos. One is known as *Pa Lak Pa Lam* (Beloved Lakṣmaṇa Beloved Rāma), discovered in the province of Vientiane and *Pommachak* (Brahmacakra) discovered in Muong Sing, a province in the upper Mekong region of North Laos. Brahmacakra is the Thai and Lava name for Rāvaṇa. Although based on the Indian version of the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki, *Pa Lak Pa Lam* is not a translation of any Indian work. It is an original recension belonging to the Lava people which enjoys immense popularity. The characters of these two versions of the Rāmāyaṇa are extremely fresh and novel and have little resemblance with their originals in Vālmīki, on the other hand the Lava versions are very close to those popular in Indonesia, Malaya, Thailand, Bangal, and the South of India.

PHONETIC CHANGES IN THE NAMES OF RAMAYANA CHARACTERS

The proper names of the classical Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa have undergone great change owing to the phonetic peculiarities of the Lava language. Thus:

Rāma	becomes	Pa Lam or Lamma
Lakṣmaṇa	,,	Pa Lak
Rāvaṇa	,,	Raphanasuane or Pommachak

*The Vientiane version of the Phra Lak Phra Lam manuscript has now been published in 1973 by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations in collaboration with the Government of Laos. It is edited by Sachchidānand Sahai. It contains the text in the Lao language, a brief introduction about the search for the mss. and no translation.

Hanumān	becomes	Hanumone	
Sītā	,,	Nang Sida	
Laṅkā	,,	Langka	and so on

MAIN DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE LAVA AND THE CLASSICAL RAMAYANA OF VALMIKI

In the Rāmāyaṇa of Laos:

1. Rāma is given a very unimportant and subordinate role compared to the hero of Vālmīki. In fact throughout the story he appears to be a stranger.

2. The true hero of the story is Rāvaṇa who is not a demon with 10 heads and 20 arms as in Vālmīki, but a clever and well-read young man of great beauty and charm, enjoying the protection of Indra.

3. Sītā has a comparatively short and unimportant role in the story. She is the daughter of Rāvaṇa and is not totally averse to the charms of the king of Laṅkā.

4. Hanumān is the son of Rāma, who leaves his monkey-skin at the end of the story.

5. All the characters and personages described behave and carry out their activities in the Lava Language and in a manner practised in Laos even today.

GEOGRAPHY OF LAVA RAMAYANA

Contrary to other known versions of the Rāmāyaṇa which have preserved the original Indian names of places and rivers etc., (as in Indonesia, Thailand, Malaya and Cambodia) the Lava Rāmāyaṇa has taken place in the land of Laos and in the Mekong Valley to be exact. The *Pa Lak Pa Lam* is in fact a true dictionary of the actual topography of middle Laos. The first 20 *phuk* (pages) of the work, have nothing to do with the Rāmāyaṇa as such, being a collection of the folkloric geography of the middle Mekong where later on the characters grow and develop. The Lava believe that *Pa Lak Pa Lam* was recited by the Buddha himself to the monks of the Settavana (Jetavana) pagoda. Thus in all its forms, the Rāmāyaṇa in its Lava incarnation of *Pa Lak Pa Lam* is a truly national epic enjoying immense popularity.

THE POMMACHAK

The *Pommachak* is an adaptation of the Rāmāyaṇa story by Buddhist monks for their religious purposes. Here the story is treated as a previous life of Lord Buddha. Rāma is no other than Lord Buddha himself, Rāvaṇa is Devadatta and Sītā is Yaśodharā. Compared to *Pa Lak Pa Lam* this version of the Rāmāyaṇa is not very popular because having transformed the story the monks failed to provide a parallel inconography, art and theatre for it. In the

absence of a cultural musical and visual base the transformed story failed to grip the imagination of the people.

THE STORY OF PA LAK PA LAM AS TOLD TO ME BY MY GUIDE AS WE LOOKED AT THE MURALS IN VAT PA KE (5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 JULY 1961)

(Since I have not seen the manuscript of the Lava Rāmāyaṇa, I am not aware how the proper names are transcribed there. However since the problem of transcribing from the Lao language will always remain there, I am reproducing the names here phonetically as I heard them being pronounced by the Lava scholars. I have made no attempt to edit these notes in order to retain the freshness and spontaneity of my guide's explanation).

The first mural which we see depicts Thosokontho, King of Langka. He has appointed Siu Han to guard the capital. Siu Han has used his tongue to envelop Langka in order to protect it. The tongue has the magic power of inducing sleep. The mural shows the army of Haphana sleeping. Thosokontho is painted in gold, the armies in blue and red the men are shown in various attitudes of sleep.

The second mural shows Savan (Svarga) and Pha In (Indra) and Nonthok. Savan contains a white pyramid called Ket Keo Chullamani (Keśa Markata Cūḍ maṇi). The pyramid is really a stūpa containing relics of the Buddha's hair. Pha In has appointed Nonthok to guard the heavens. He has ordered him to wash the feet of all the women who come there. He has provided him with a magic finger which can kill anybody. The gods did not like this idea and they came to Pha In requesting him to take back the finger. Pha In said he does not have the powor to take back the finger, only Pha Narai (Nārāyaṇa) in the sea can do it. The gods approached Pha Narai, who assuming the shape of a beautiful woman danced in front of Nonthok who was guarding Savana. Nonthok fell in love with the pretty damsel and wanted to marry her. The lady agreed to do so provided Nonthok would dance with her. During the dance Pha Narai who had assumed the shape of the young girl, contrived to point the finger of Nonthok towards his own chest and he dies. Nonthok was born again as Thosokontho and Pha Narai was born as Pa Lam.

(At this moment the guide began to show me the doors of the Vat or Temple. Their panels are beautifully decorated with carved figures of Siokan, with the figure of a lion at his feet. The figure of Siokan is guilded. On another panel appears the first Dutch visitor to Laos Gerrit van Wusthoff, with the figure of a dog at his feet. On another door-panel appears another image similar to that of Siokan (perhaps Śiva) with his feet on a tiger and blowing the

conch).

The next mural shows the panorama of Langka, with Nonthok who is born as Thosokontho. The previous mural has a beautiful scene of Pha Narai lying on his couch in the sea, while two messengers of Pha In come to request him to go to Savan in order to kill Nonthok.

The third mural shows Si Ayuthya the city of Pha Lam. Pha Lam Pha Lak, Pha Phrot, Pha Satru all are shown white, Pha Lam is shown black. At the bottom of the painting stands the beautifully painted elephant of Pha Lam. In one corner Kaikesi is shown, she is the second wife of Thosoroth. In another corner the Bassi ceremony of the two sons of Kaikesi Pha Phrot and Pha Satru is going on. (The guide tells me that Kausilya the first wife had two sons Pha Lak and Pha Lam). One whole mural is devoted to showing the two brothers Pha Lak and Pha Lam seated with their father and mother, with a large number of servants. On a lower level of the mural Thosoroth appears on an expedition to drive away the rebels. On the way, the wheel of his chariot comes out. His wife Kaikesi asks for two boons, one that her son should be king in place of Pha Lam and the younger boy Pha Satru should be viceroy. The very top of the mural shows Nang Savaha, mother of Hanumone. Nang Savaha is a woman and not a monkey. Nang Khaisi and one Risi are the father and mother of Savaha. The father of Hanumone is Pha Phai (Vāyu). This mural is badly spoiled by rain from leaking walls.

Story of the birth of Hanumone. Nang Khaisi was alone one day when she had a dream of Pha In. Pha In knew that she loved him and so he came down, and Pha Li (Bali) was born of this union. Another day Nang Khaisi loved the Sun (Sūrya) and Sangkhip (Sugrīva) was born. One day Savaha reported to her father that she saw two men entering the room of her mother one red man and one green man (Sūrya and Indra) and that these two boys Sangkhip and Phali are not his sons. Phali was the older brother. Savaha did not like her mother's infidelity. The Risi, being angry, threw the three children into the water. Of them only Savaha returned; the two boys went into the forest and became monkies because of the *śāpa* of their parents. Phali is painted green, Sangkhip is painted red.

When Pha In and Suriya found that their sons were living as monkies and were destitute, they both came down and constructed cities for them named Khitkin (Kiṣkindhā). The mural shows two separate palaces in Khitkin, one for Phali and one for Sangkhip.

When Nang Khaisi came to know that Savaha had reported this matter to her father, she cursed her to stand on one leg and eat only air. The mural

shows Savaha standing on one leg and eating air.

When Pha In came to know about Savaha then he asked Pha Phai (Vāyu) to come and rescue this girl. These two married and Hanumone was born. One whole mural shows the brilliant white Hanumone attended by red Sangkhip offering his services and waiting on Pha Lam and Pha Lak. Pha Lam is green and Pha Lak is white. A most brilliant and exquisitely coloured mural.

The childhood of Hanumone. Hanumone was an adult from the day of his birth. He could eat, speak, fly. One day Hanumone saw the sun and he thought it was a fruit and so he tried to eat him up. The sun (Suriya) turned back and looked and this look burned Hanumone. Only one of his hairs was sticking to the sun's chariot and out of this hair he reconstructed Hanumone. Then Suriya told Hanumone to go down to the earth and become his soldier, and when he becomes Pha Lam's soldier then he will become invulnerable. When Hanumone was coming down, he found his mother at the place where he was born and she took him to the town of Phali and Sangkhip.

The next mural shows the hermit Swamit (Viśvāmitra) doing penance for peace. Haphana had sent a woman who transformed herself into a crow and disturbed his *tapa*, so the hermit went to Thosoroth to ask for his two sons Pha Lak, Pha Lam to come and kill the crow. The boys came and killed the crow with their arrows. Sida is the daughter of Thosokontho and her mother is Muntho.

The birth of Sida. When Sida was born the astrologers said that this girl is very inauspicious and if you keep her our town will be attacked, So the parents put her on a raft and threw her in the river. A hermit named Si Sanok (Śrī Janaka) picked her up and brought her to the town of Mithila. Sanok was the king of Mithila. He had abdicated in order to do *tapas* and then with Sida he returned to Mithila. Sanok brought up Sida to the age of 16 and then he announced that he would marry his daughter Sida to a prince who could lift an iron bow. This bow was given to Sanok by Śiva. The mural shows many princes trying to lift the bow. The hermit Swamit heard about this and sent Pha Lam to lift the bow. He lifts it and marries Sida. A big mural shows the marriage of Sida and Pha Lam. There is a big chariot made of gold outside the palace. It is drawn by white horses. The main chariot is drawn by white and grey horses. There are many servants.

Exile of Pha Lam. After getting married Pha Lam brought his wife to Ayuthya. Kaikesi who was seeing this ordered the gates to be closed and Pha Lam had to return to the forest. In the forest he found a huge stone blocking the way. He breaks the stone with his arrow and he breaks it into two parts

and a woman (Devakanyā) comes out of it. She goes to heaven. The mural shows the stone surrounded by the flames of fire. This woman (Ahalyā) was punished by Pha In to become a stone and he surrounded this stone by fire so that nobody may eome near it.

After this incident the three Pha Lak, Pha Lam and Sida came to the hermitage of a Risi who gave them a cloth permeated with magic. Whoever wears this cloth becomes invulnerable. This mural is very clear and very well preserved. Dark colours, bright blues and reds and gold and a good effect of the forest.

(The guides in Luang Prabang call Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa by the names Pha Lak Pha Lam). The bottom of this mural shows three beautiful huts made by Pha Lak and Pha Lam and they begin to live in these huts. One day Pha Lak goes into the forest to gather fruit and he sees Kumbhakat (Kumbhakarṇa) sitting in meditation, and a sword is lying in front of him. Kumbhakarṇa was praying for a weapon from Pha In which would make him such as not to be defeated by anybody. Pha In threw down a sword for him which he refused to take because it must be handed to him and not thrown. Pha Lak picks it up and then there is a fight. Kumbhakat (Kumbhakarṇa) is defeated and Pha Lak takes a basket of fruit and the sword and presents it to Pha Lam. During all this scene Sida is seated behind in her cottage. This is the best preserved mural.

The kingdom of Langka. One mural shows the town of Thosokontho, Langka. One day Thosokontho went to hunt with his three beautiful wives riding on a golden chariot. In his absence he asked his lieutenant Siṁha (Siu Han) to protect Langka. Upon his return from the hunt he could not see Langka, because it was made invisible for protection by the tongue of Siṁha. Thosokontho throws his weapon at Siṁha and his tongue is cut. Siṁha dies and the town is visible again. Langka is beautifully built, with billowing temple-like roofs, curved and edged with gold. Red walls, and gold pillars with intricate designs. In the distance appear sea, rocks, trees and beautiful landscape.

Samanakha takes her revenge. After the death of Siṁha his wife Samanakha is exiled. Samanakha was a yakṣiṇī, she took the form of a beautiful woman and wanted to marry Pha Lak. When Pha Lam discovered this trick, they punished her by pressing her neck and feet between two bamboos and throwing her away. Samanakha was also very much beaten and she came back and reported the matter to Thosokontho. Thosokontho goes to the place of the incident. He sees Sida and falls in love with her. (Here comes the imposing statue of the Buddha

inside the temple. The brass images of the Buddha are very well made. They are cast with copper robes and drapery and are very well polished).

The abduction of Sida. One mural shows the rape of Sida. Haphana comes with the golden deer and sees Pha Lam, Sida and Pha Lak sitting in their cottages. He therefore makes Marisa go before Sida's door and Sida asks Lam to go and kill him and bring him to her. Lam goes and kills him and brings the head with him—the head is human, the body is golden deer. On the way he meets Pha Lak sent to meet him by Sida who had heard the voice of Marisa. When the brothers return Sida is not there. She has been abducted by Haphana. The right hand part of the mural shows the soldiers of Haphana hiding and a part of his chariot is visible. There is rich brown and green foliage in the forest.

The next mural shows Rāvaṇa-Jaṭāyu yuddha. Jaṭāyu says he cannot be killed except by the ring of Sida. Haphana removes Sida's ring and throws it at Jaṭāyu. He is killed. Then Haphana brings her to his home. The lower part of the mural shows Haphana and Mantho sitting in their palace. They are the parents of Sida.

Pha Lak Pha Lam meet Hanumone. The next mural shows Pha Lak and Pha Lam in search of Sida. They meet Hanumone and Sangkhip and the incident of the arrows takes place. Here is the incident. Hanumone is sitting on top of a tree and Pha Lak shoots arrows at him. Every arrow which is shot, Hanumone catches it in his hands. When only one arrow is left in Pha Lak's hands, he asks Pha Lam that this seems to be a powerful monkey and what can he do with him. Pha Lam says that this monkey is our friend and then they all go together to search for Sida.

Giving a more detailed description of the above mural the guides told me the next day, as if revising a previously learnt lesson, that actually Pha Lak and Pha Lam were resting under a tree and Hanumone came on top of the tree having been sent by Suriya. And then Pha Lak started shooting arrows. When Hanumone caught all the arrows then Pha Lam asked 'Who you are?' Hanumone then related the command of the Sun that he was ordered by Suriya to find Lam with green body and to serve him. Hanumone then comes into Lam's service and becomes his friend. The mural shows all the three going in search of Sida. After a certain time Lam asks Hanumone to bring some water. Hanumone goes to get water which tastes salt, and going up towards the source of the water he finds Sangkhip the red monkey, weeping and the tears have formed themselves into a river. Sangkhip tells his tale of woe to Hanumone who brings Sangkhip to Pha Lam and then Pha Lam promises to

help Sangkhip in his differences with his brother. The top part of the mural shows the battle between Sangkhip and Phali—Red and Green—and in the centre the two are locked together in combat, down below there are two green figures of Lam killing Phali. (Here I noticed that the part of the room directly above the image of the Buddha is encrusted with inverted open gold lotus flowers, three big ones in the centre and others small).

The death of Thosoroth. The murals are interrupted here on account of the doorway. The next mural is on the opposite wall from the doorway behind the Buddha image. In it is the continuation of the story of Ayuthya. The palace shows the urn of Thosorotho who has died. In the courtyard his three queens painted white are weeping. Phra Phrot and Phra Satru are shown prostrate on the other side and the whole of the palace, ministers and servants are shown weeping. Outside the palace walls on dark blue ground Pha Phrot is shown dressed in full gold armour driving out his mother Kaikesi for having exiled Pha Lam. The lower portion of the mural shows the armies of Pha Phrot and Pha Satru. They themselves are riding in golden chariots going out in search of Lam. On the way they meet two Risis and ask them where Lam lives. The chariot which has four wheels, two horses one brown and one blue and five charioteers carries the two queens. Pha Phrot is painted orange, he is riding a one wheel chariot with two horses. Pha Satru is brown in colour. (It is not possible to number the murals. They are not separated from each other but merge into each other so as to make an exquisite and colourful pattern on the wall. In the beginning I tried to number them, later on I found it impossible and gave it up).

Pha Phrot's procession continues in his search for Pha Lam until they come to Khukhan who is the Guardian of Lam. Khukhan was a hunter in these regions before. Khukhan allowed them to pass after ascertaining that their motives were good.

Then they came to another Risi who tells them the way to go further on. Then they meet another Risi who tells them the way. In fact all the four hermits (white bodies) come along with Pha Phrot to meet Pha Lam. Then the mural shows green Pha In coming down to warn Lam that your brother is coming with his army to call you back and rule in his place. But if you go back there is danger for your life, so you should not go back. Pha In thought that the second wife of Thosoroth will try to kill Pha Lam. Then the mural shows Lam, Lak and Sida looking from above at the arrival of the entourage of Pha Phrot. The mural shows meeting between Lam and Phrot. Three women are shown, one of them is Lam's mother who weeps because Lam is not return-

ing, the other two are Kaikesi and Samutthasa (Samudrajā or Sumitrā). The mural below shows the whole world weeping because Lam will not return. The previous mural shows Phrot riding in his chariot, with him is Kausalya Lam's mother, and the other two mothers are riding behind in a separate chariot. My guide asks me to look again and notice this arrangement.

After the meeting with Phrot, Pha Lak, Pha Lam and Sida decide to move on. They think this place is not safe and now known to others. On the way they come across a river and wonder how to cross it. Pha In is shown above giving them a boat, an empty boat. The lower mural shows the three sitting in the boat and crossing the river.

The episode of Phanya Khon. After crossing the river they come to a garden belonging to Phanya Khon who is the king of the yakṣas. Pha Lak goes to gather fruit and the men of Phanya Khon came to prevent him from picking fruit. Pha Lak succeeds in killing them all. They are shown lying dead on the ground. Those that could escape go and report the matter to Phanya Khon.

When Phanya Khon heard about this he came to see Lam and seeing Sida he fell in love with her—Phanya Khon is shown in a flying pose grabbing Sida—then Lam jumps still higher and is shown as if descending from the sky with his bow. He fights Phanya Khon. Phanya Khon seeing no other way out picks up a huge stone and tries to hurl it at him, Lam shoots and cuts off the head of Phanya Khon and retrieves Sida. In the forest scenes Lam, Lak and Sida are shown in full royal regalia. This mural of Phanya Khon is badly damaged by rain.

(Here I see that the main image of the Buddha is attached to the wall showing that the murals were painted after the image was installed. The image does not interfere with the mnrals).

The battle between Thorapha and Thoraphi. On the top line is the mural of Thorapha and Thoraphi. Thorapha was the guardian of Pha In before he was cursed to become a Thorapha (buffalo). Thorapha was a buffalo. When he was sent down to earth, he was told that any male child you produce will kill you, so he killed all his male children. His wife discovered that he was doing this. So the next time she became pregnant she thought of giving birth to the child in a hiding place. Thus Thoraphi, the black buffalo was born and saved. When he became full grown he came to fight his father and killed him. After this Thoraphi ran amuck and reached the palace of Pha In. Pha In told him you can try your strength with Phali and he entered the city of Khitkin. Phali fought this buffalo and could not win him. When both were

found to be equal, Phali challenged him to close combat. Before going into a cave in order to fight Thoraphi, Phali had told his brother Sangkhip that if you see light blood flowing from the cave then it is my blood, but if the blood comes out thick and dark, solidified and muddy then it is the buffalo's, and it is he who is killed. Phali killed Thoraphi, but the rain fell at that time and light blood came out. Thinking that his brother was killed Sangkhip blocked the entrance of the cave as he was asked to do by his brother so that the buffalo Thoraphi may not come out.

This mural shows two insets of Khitkin and Sangkhip coming out to block the grotto. Phali thought that Sangkhip had closed the cave in order to become king himself. Phali used the head of Thoraphi to push the stone and opened the cave. There was a Thevata (Devatā) in the cave who had told Phali that you will be able to open the cave if you push with Thoraphi's head. Phali then returned to Khitkin and told Sangkhip that you did this injustice to me in order to become king. Sangkhip and Phali fight and Sangkhip is thrown out. When Sangkhip meets Pha Lam he tells this story to him. (Here I noticed that the flower offerings which are brought before the image of the Buddha statue are arranged to resemble artistic stūpas or round pyramids).

The next two murals show Ayuthya. The city of Ayuthya and the town of Kaikesi's father are shown in juxtaposition. Pha Phrot and Pha Satru were in their grandfather's house when Pha Lam was sent out of Ayuthya—this mural shows that Pha Phrot is being invited to come and be king of Ayuthya.

Another mural behind Buddha statue on top of the wall shows a beautiful forest with beautifully painted elephants in pink and white and many other animals. Pha Phrot is returning to Ayuthya through this forest.

A lower mural on the back wall shows a conference between the functionaries of Ayuthya who are meeting to decide as to who should be king. And the decision was in favour of Pha Phrot because of the king who had decided to please his wife Kaikesi After the decision of the conference Thosoroth dies. This is the next mural.

One mural on the right wall (from the main Buddha statue) shows Lam, Sida and Lak crossing the river in a boat returning to the forest after the gates of Ayuthya are closed against them. This river is on their way to the forest (It seems to be Gaṅgā and the incident seems to be that of the boat-man. The Laotian name for Sarayū is Saraphu. This river is not Saraphu).

The Rāmāyaṇa ends in this temple with the battle between Phali and Sangkhip.

General remarks and conclusion. The temple Vat Pa Ke or Khey is next to the Government Pali school. It is built on a raised hill, very beautiful in con-

ception. The wall paintings done in oil are more in Thai style. Hanumone is exactly as painted in Thai pictures. The story begins with the incident of Simha protecting Langka with his tongue and ends with the battle between Phali and Sangkhip. These two incidents are treated exactly as they are in Thai Rāmāyaṇa, paintings and with the same importance. It may be mentioned that the Thai and Lava people are very similar in their culture and way of life. They can understand each other's language, although the script is different. The Thai are more warlike and aggressive, while the Lava are more gentle and peaceful. Their interpretation of the Rāmāyaṇa story in their murals shows their logical, yet gentle and accommodating nature. They find clever excuses and reasons for condoning the mistakes of Phali and Kaikesi. Their strong adherence to Lava political traditions is shown in the representation after the minister's council discussing the exile of Rāma.

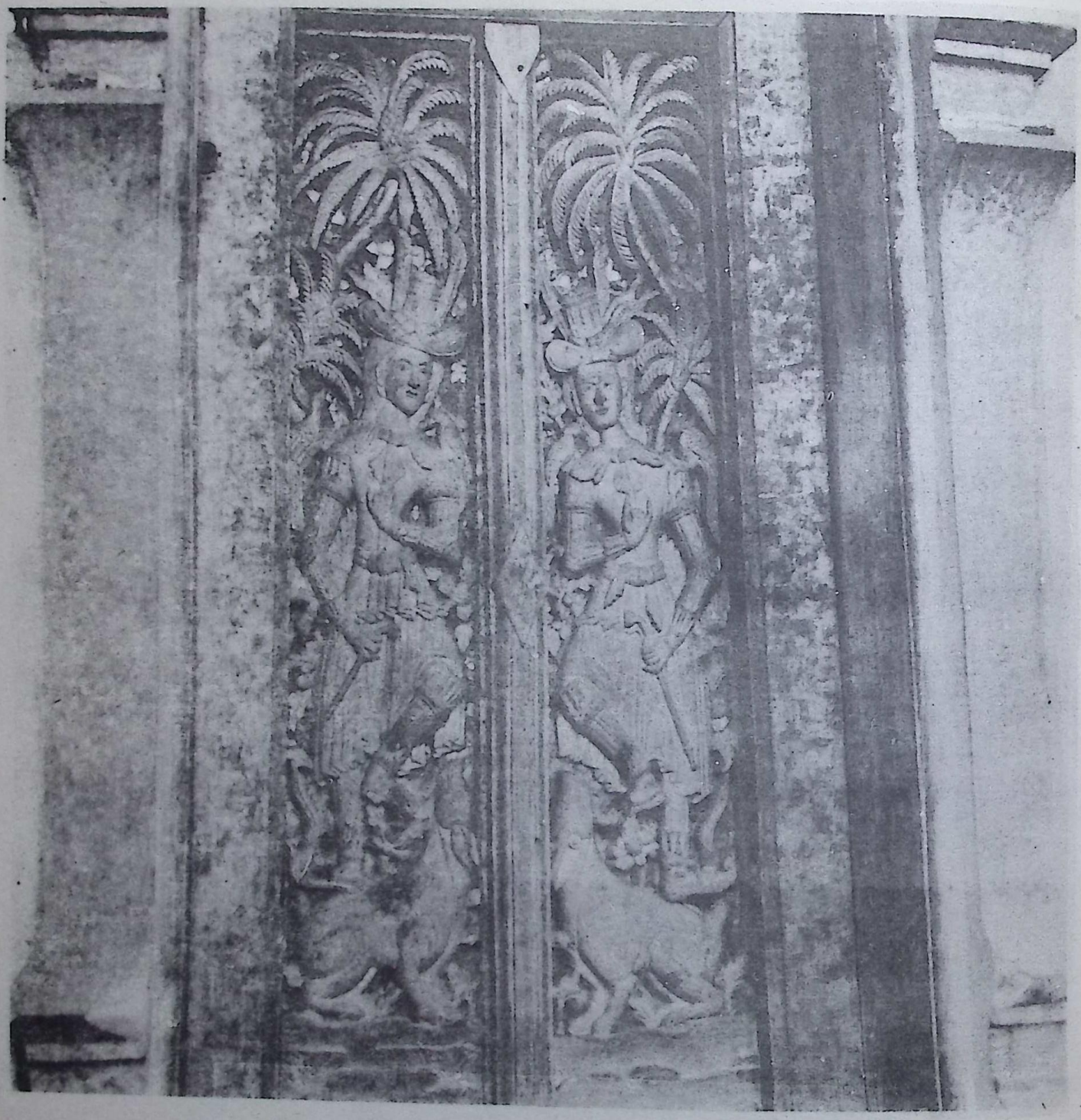
The Vat Pa Ke was built in 1803 and the paintings were done at the same time by the artist Nai Khien. They are more than 100 years old.

It is obvious from the account of the paintings given above that the artist did not follow any set story or design. He had the story in his mind and painted each incident as it came to his consciousness. This is the reason why many incidents and episodes are repeated. This is also evident from the fact that the Pha Lak Pha Lam story does not end in this temple. It is perhaps for this reason that later episodes of the Rāmāyaṇa like the battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa left out in Vat Pa ke, were incorporated in other temples like Vat Vixun and Vat Mai belonging to the Saṅgharāja, the Patriarch of Laos, who takes special interest in the perpetuation and preservation of Lava culture.

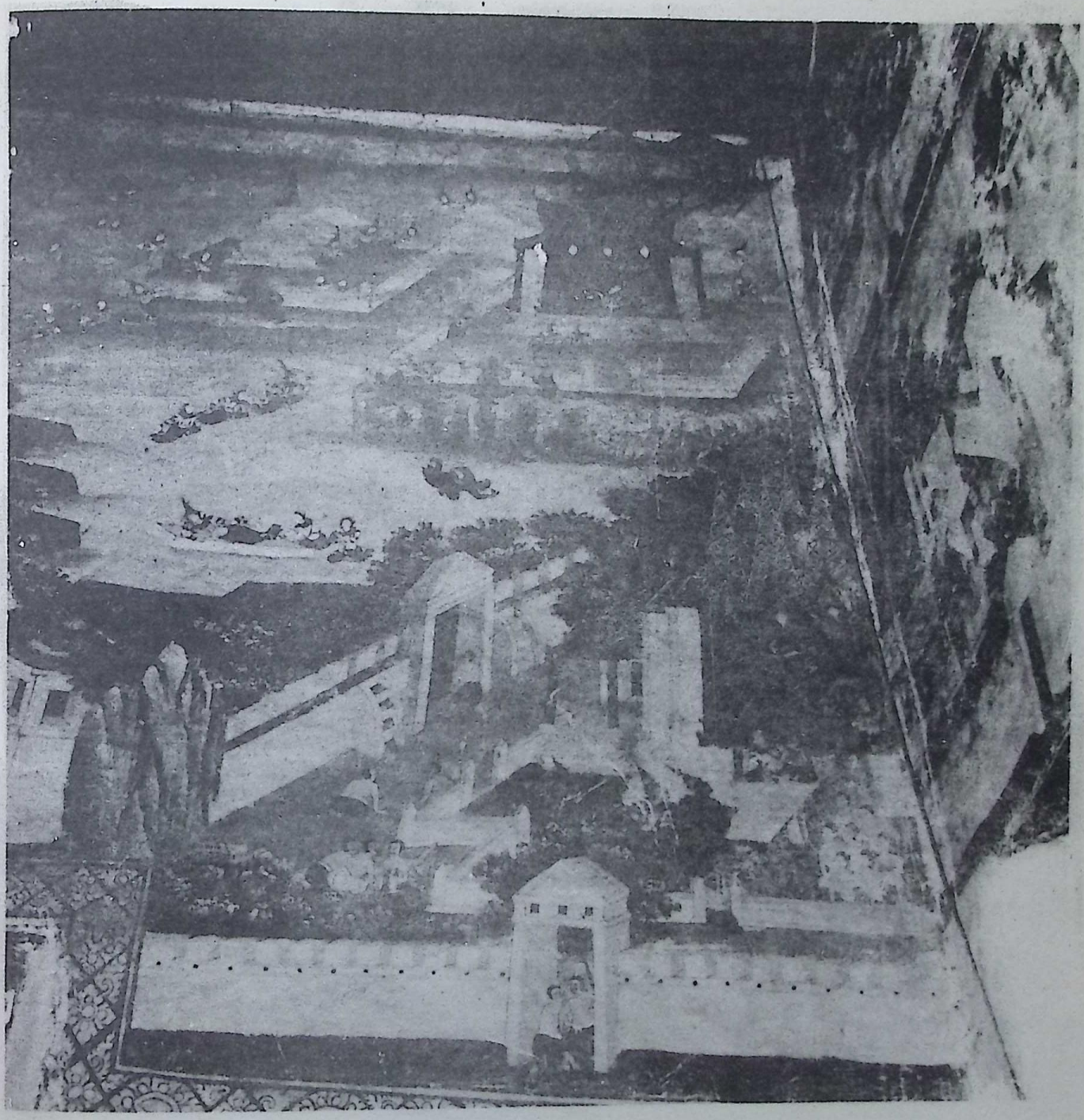
In conclusion, I would like to mention that I spent three of the happiest years of my life in Laos when I was there with my husband who was Ambassador of India to Laos from 1959 to 1961. We revisited Laos in October 1969, but the visit was too short to continue my researches on the Lava Rāmyāaṇa. My study could not be completed in 1961 as the period of our stay there was also the period of intense civil war in Laos, during which the city of Vientiane was under fire for six days and large parts of the town and buildings were destroyed. During this period I had to be evacuated from Laos along with several other women and children of our Embassy.

It is my wish to be able to return to Laos one day, in order to complete this enchanting and all absorbing picture of the Lava Rāmāyaṇa which is before us. To us Indians it opens a charming vista of understanding and appreciation of the supremely beautiful and satisfying artistic experience of our Lava brothers.

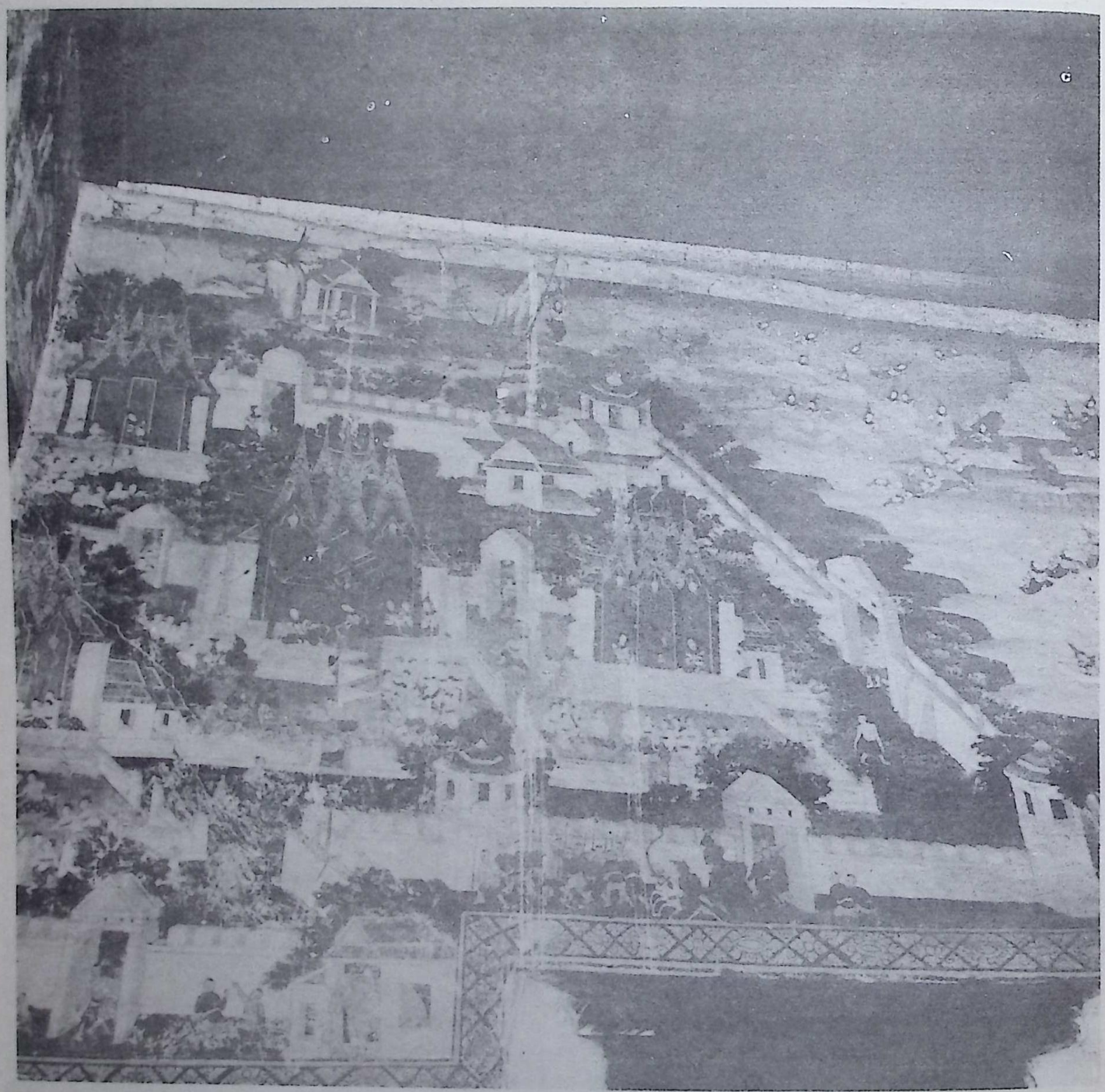
1. Vat Pa Ke, Luang Prabang.



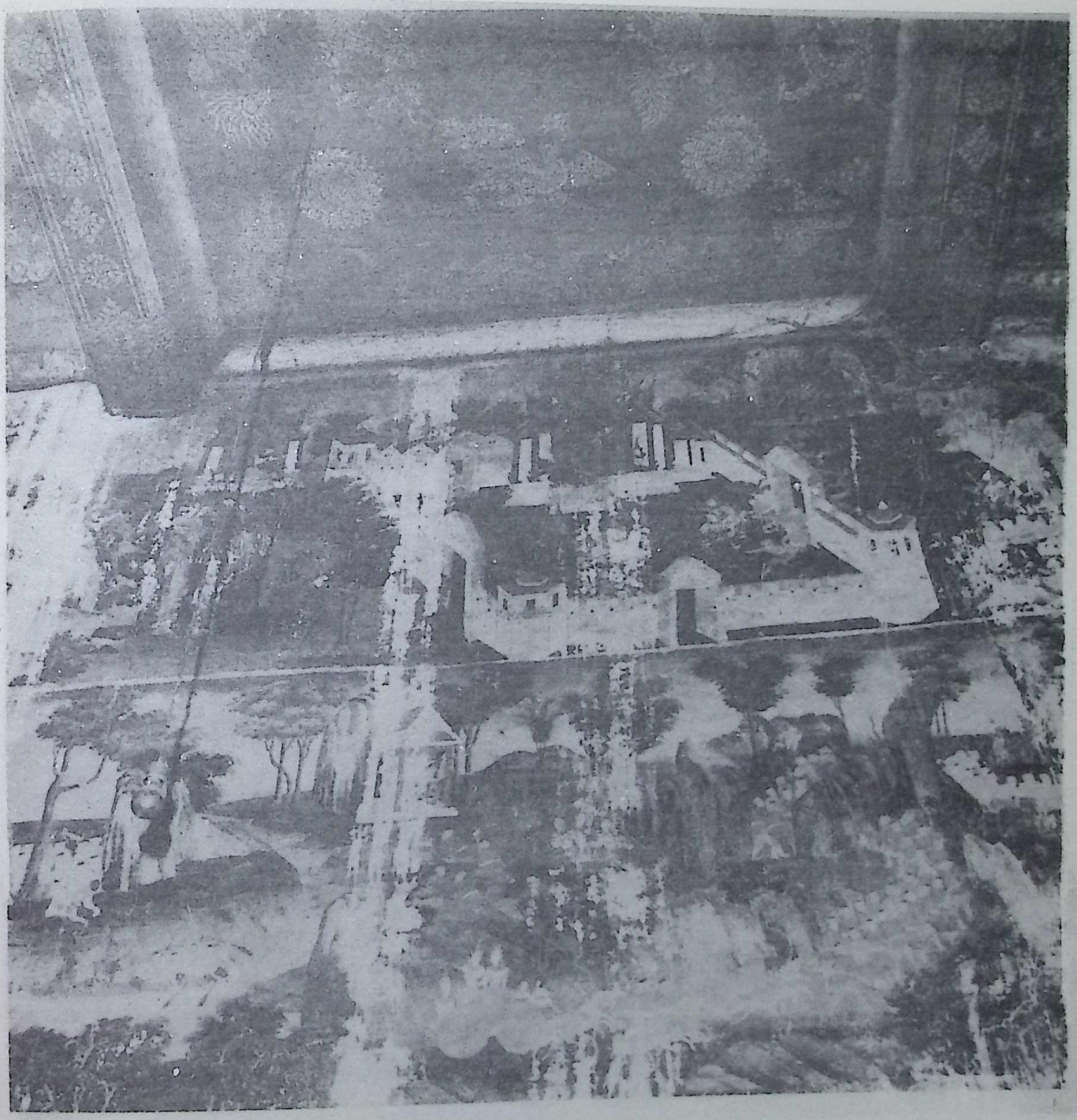
2. The door of Vat Pa Ke. Figure of Von Würfel (?)



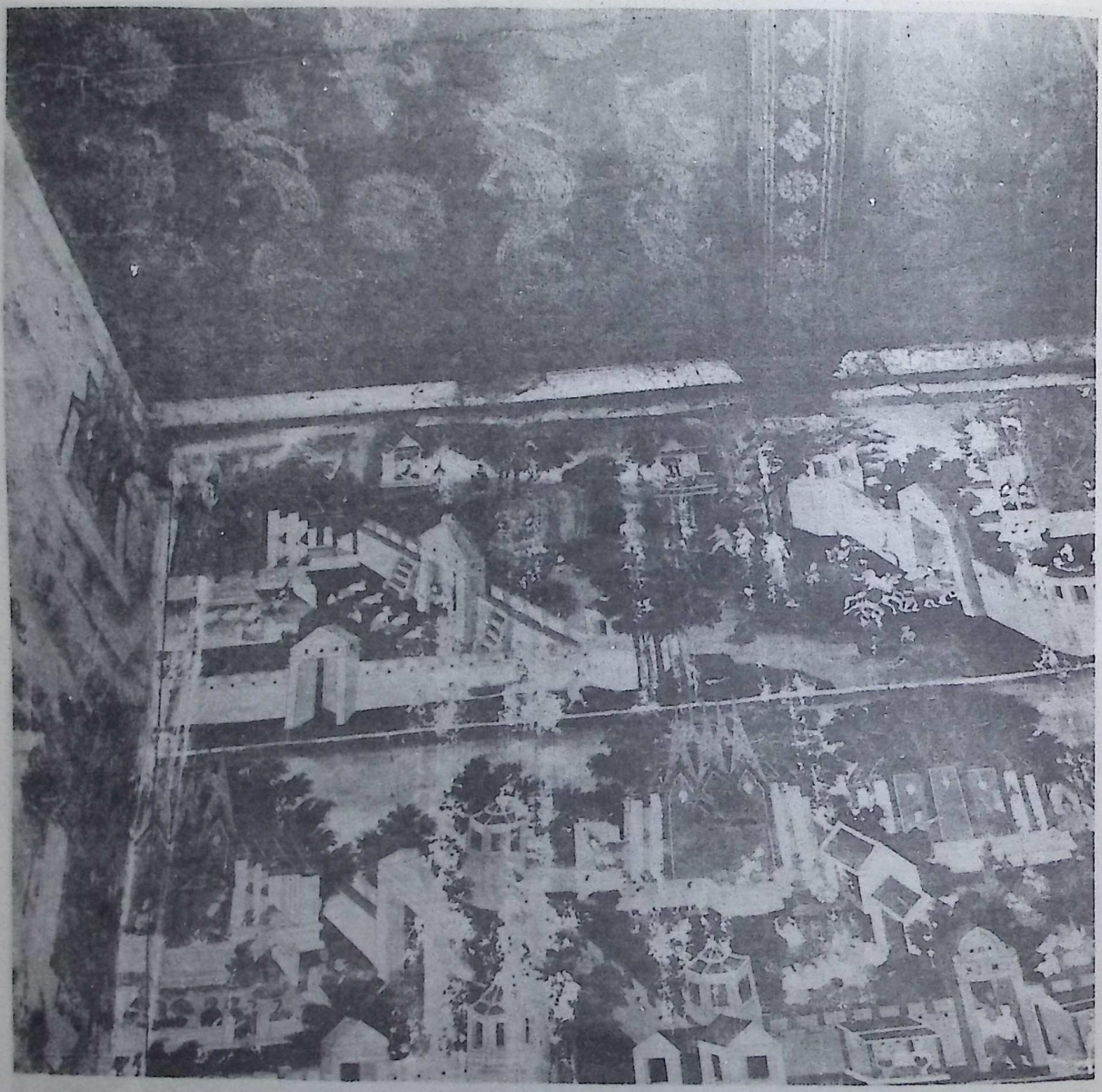
3. Vat Pa Ke, Luang Prabang. City of Nonthok who is reborn as Thossokontho king of Langka.



4 Vat Pa Ke, Luang Prabang. The city of Śrī Ayodhyā.



5. Vat Pa Ke, Luang Prabang. *Upper Part*: The city of Khitkin (Kiṣkindhā) *Lower Part*: The entourage of Phra Phrot (Bharata) going out to find Rāma.

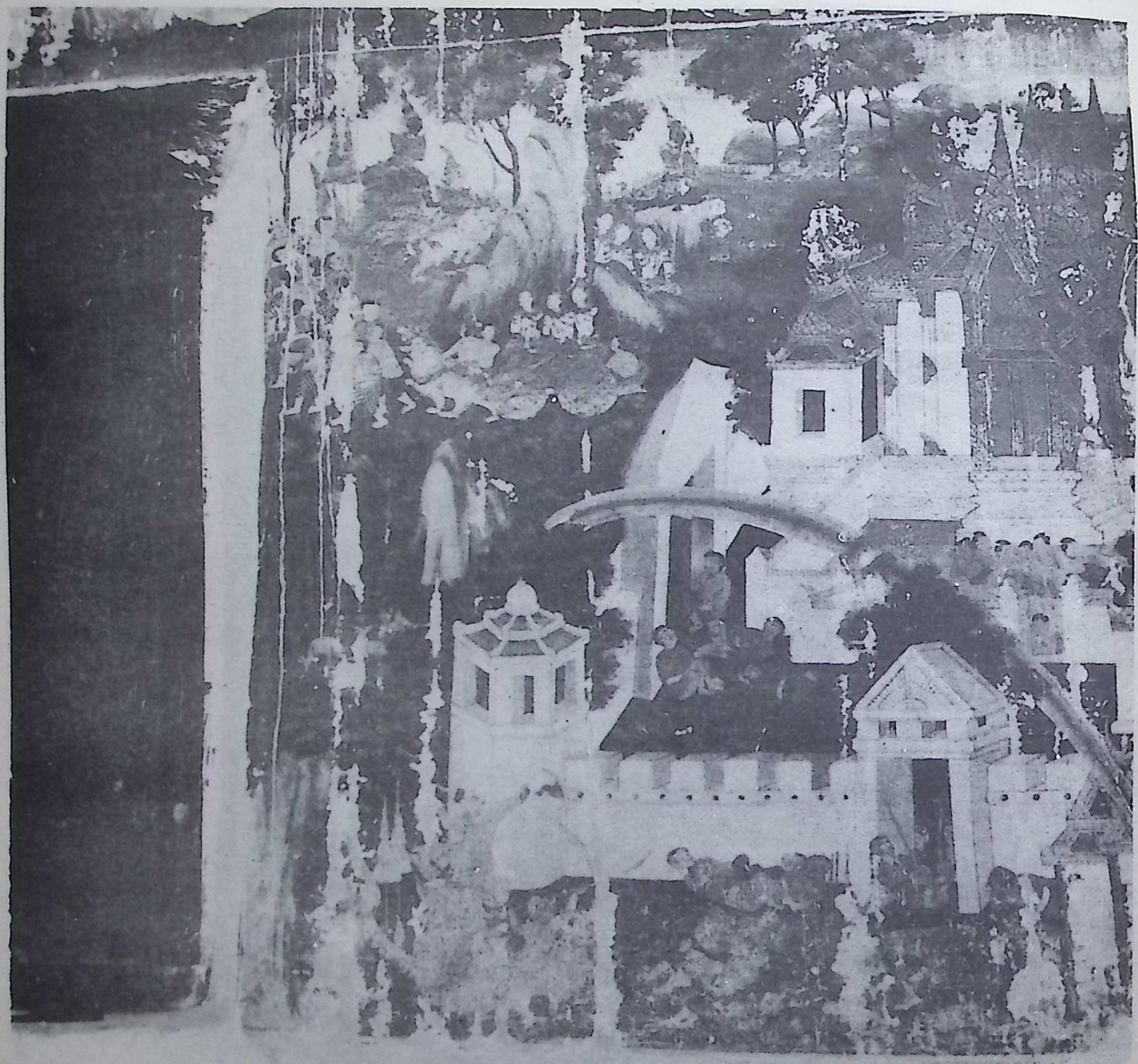


6. Vat Pa Ke, Luang Prabang. The city of Mithilā.

7. Vat Pa Ke, Luang Prabang. Rāma lifts the iron-bow in order to marry Sītā (*dhanur-bhaṅga*). The upper part of the picture shows other kings trying to lift the bow at Sītā-svayaṁvara.

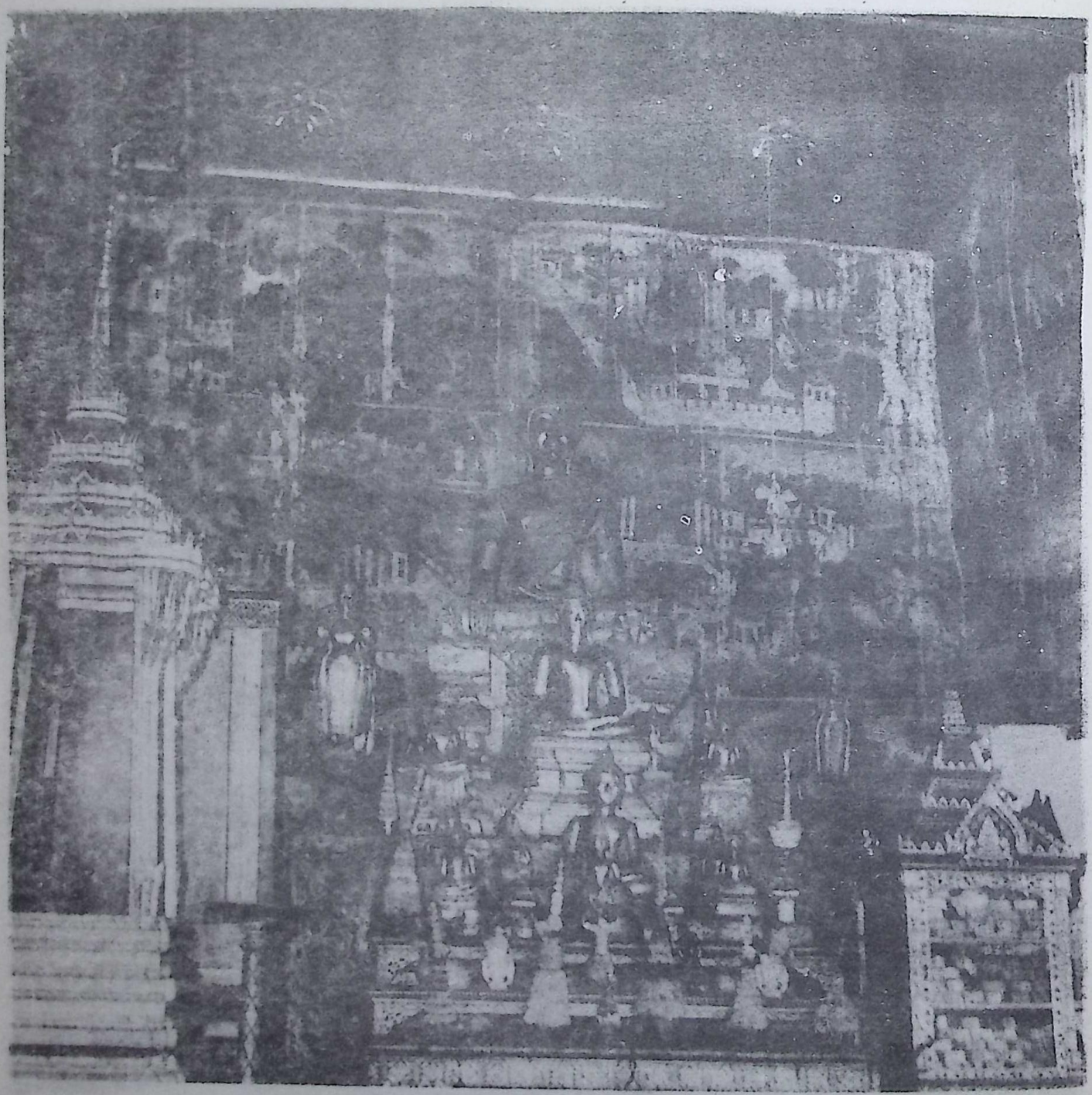
8. Vat Pa Ke, Luang Prabang. The marriage of Rāma and Sītā.

9. Vat Pa Ke, Luang Prabang. Pha Lak (Lakṣmaṇa) picks up the sword of Phoumphakal. Actually this is the sword of Pha In (Indra) which he has thrown for Kumbhakat (Kumbhakarṇa). Kumbhakat did not pick it up because it must be handed to him and not thrown. There is a fight between Pha Lak and Kumbhakat. The latter is defeated and Pha Lak presents the sword to his brother Pha Lam. While all this is going on Sītā is seated behind in her cottage.



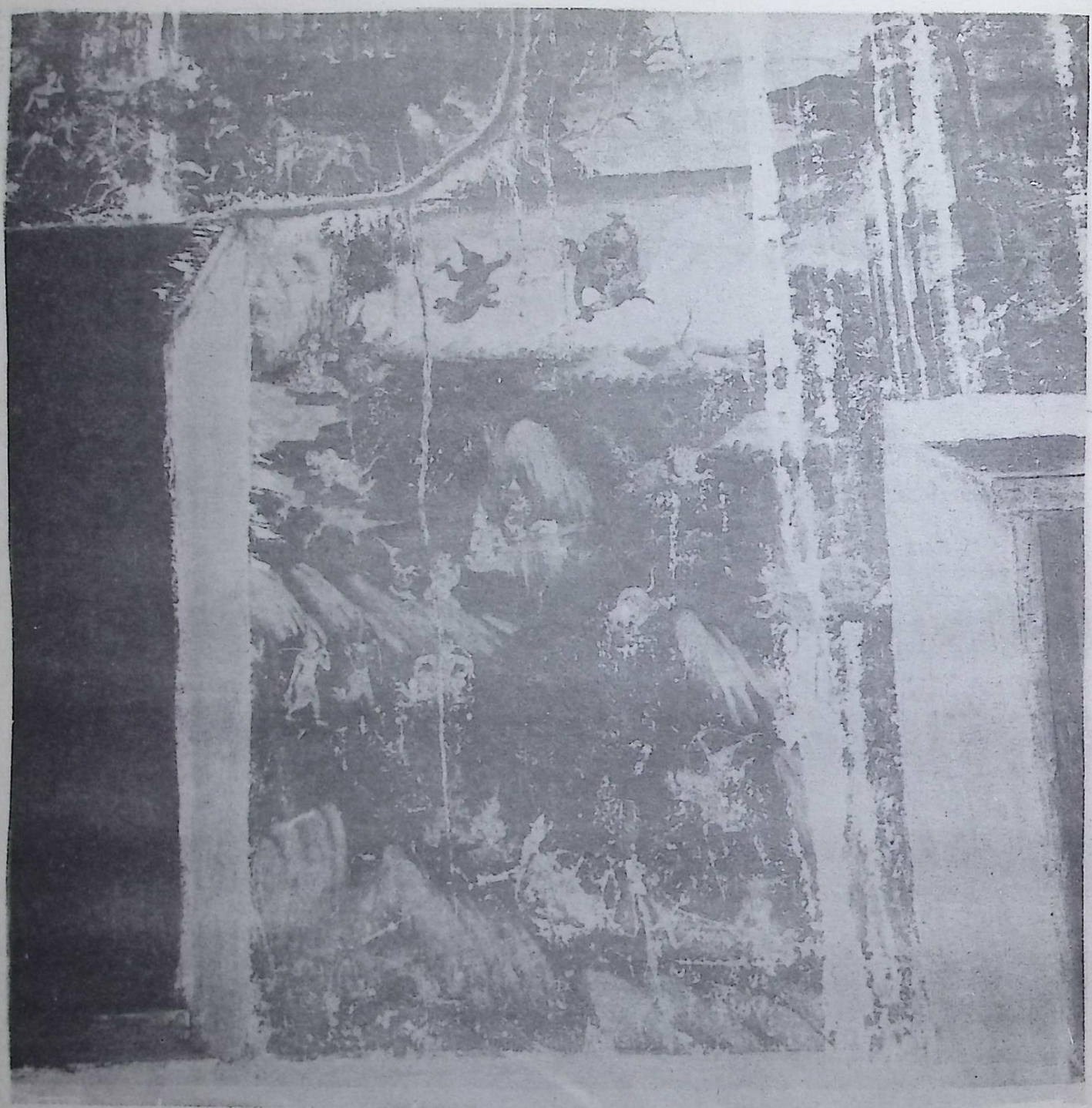
10. Vat Pa Ke, Luang Prabang. Thossokontho has cut the tongue of Phaya Siouha who was protecting Langka in his absence.

11. Vat Pa Ke, Luang Prabang. Nang Sammanka (Śūrpaṇakhā) widow of Phaya Siouhan transforms herself into a young girl.

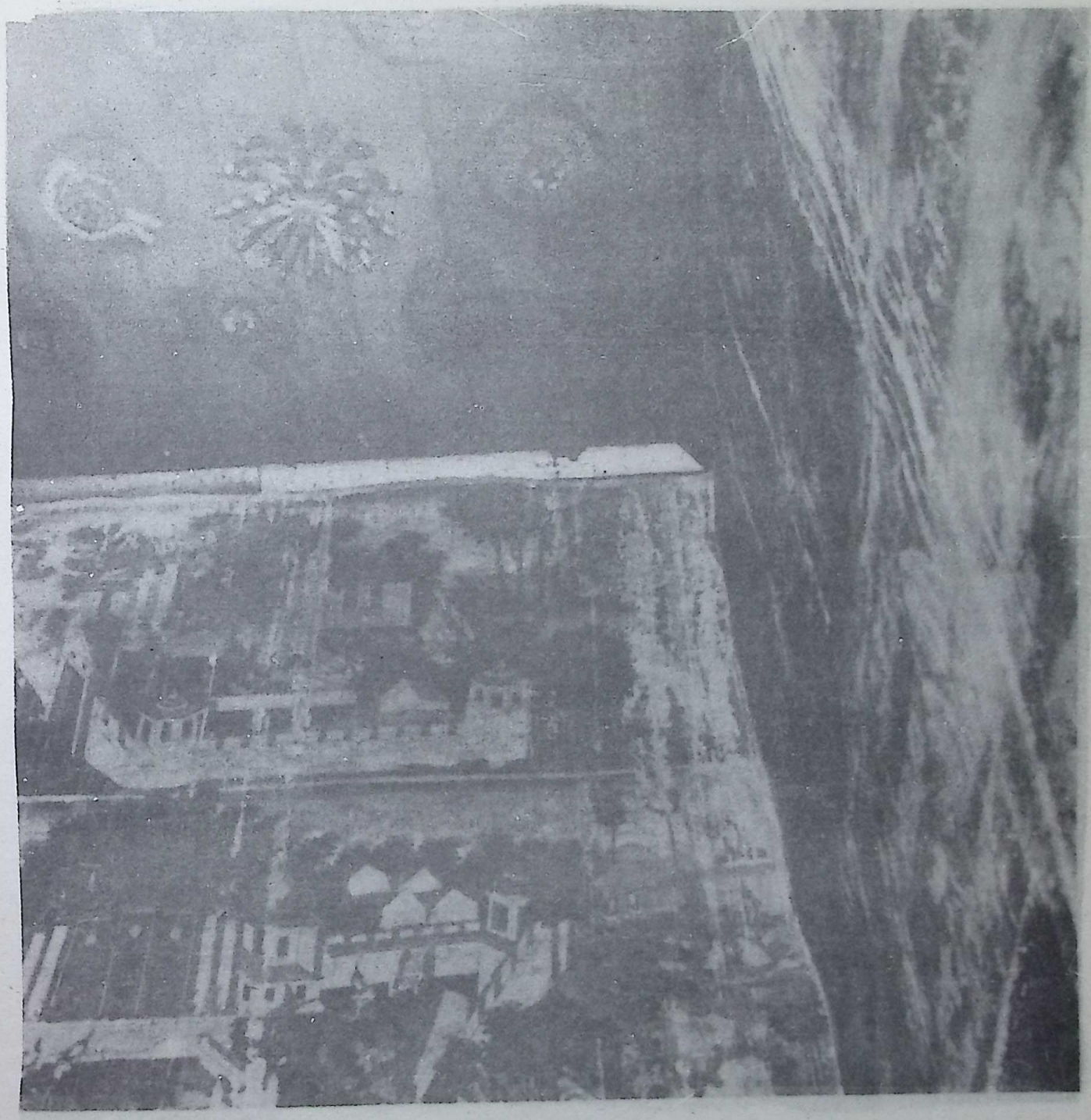


12. The Buddha images at Vat Pa Ke.

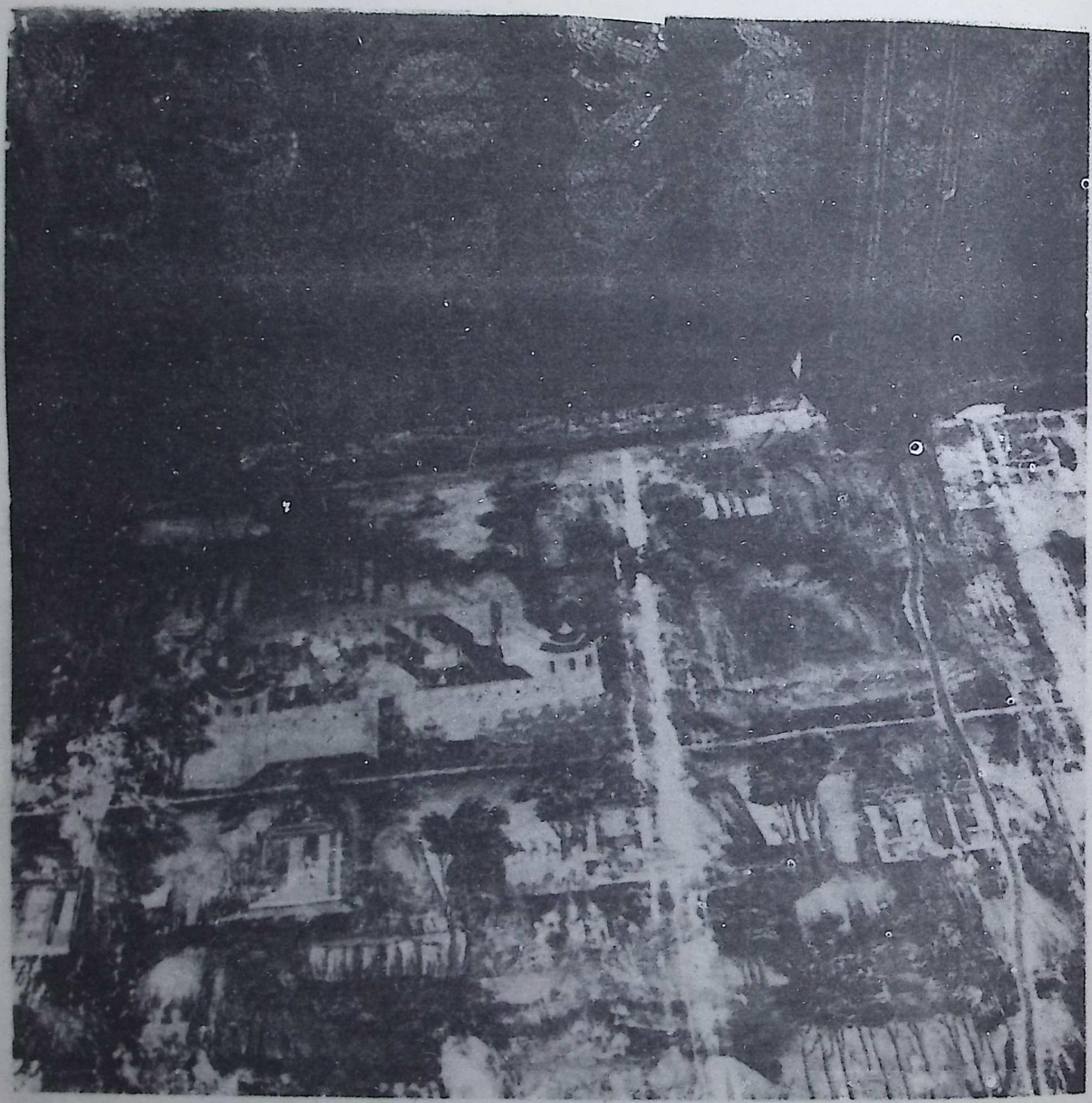
13. Vat Pa Ke, Luang Prabang. Rāma pursuing the golden deer of Phaya Malit (Mārīca).



14. Vat Pa Ke, Luang Prabang. Rāma finds Hanumān and Sangkhip. Pha Lak Pha Lam meet Hanumone.

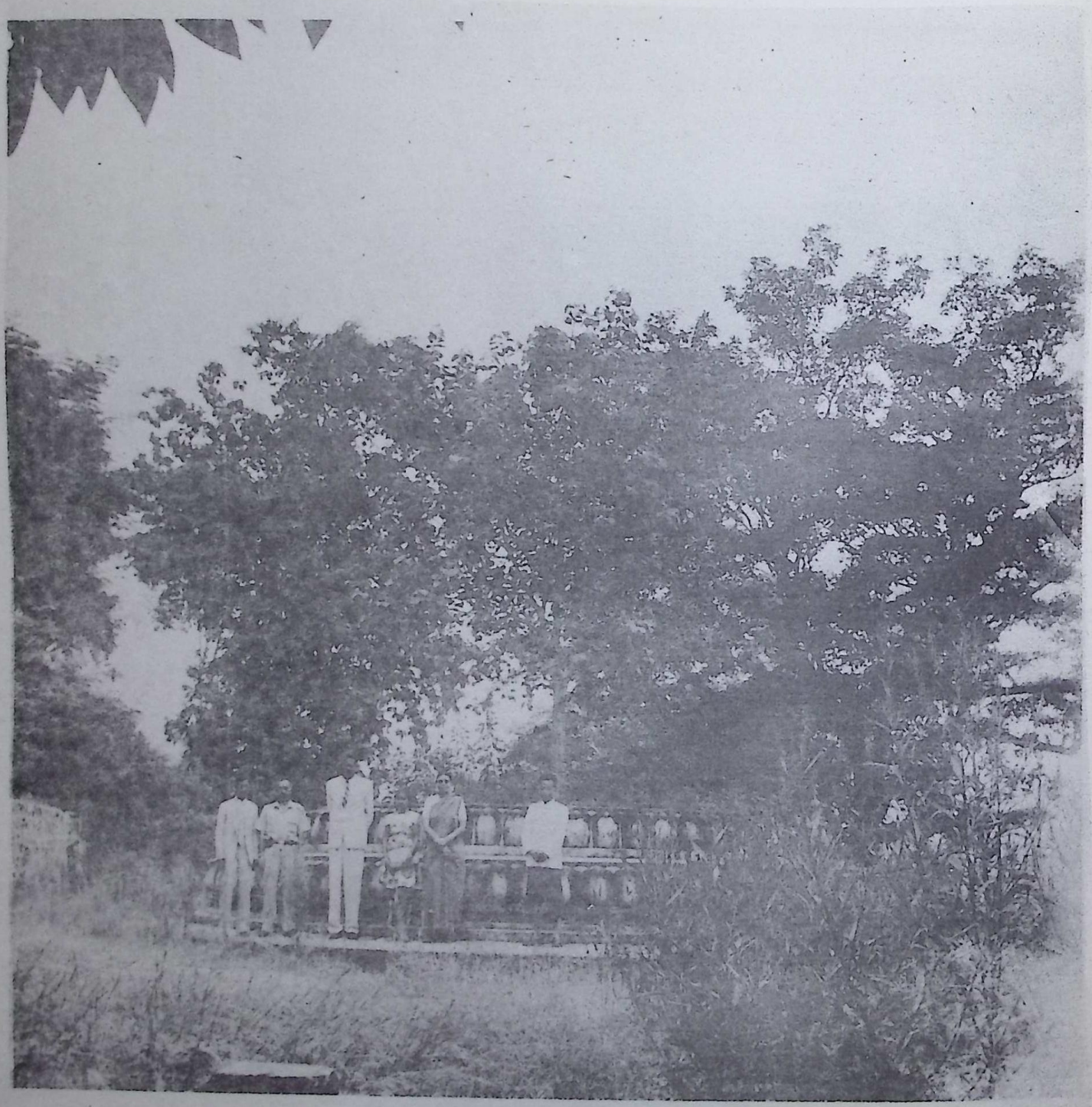


15. Vat Pa Ke, Luang Prabang. The death of Thosaroth, Rāma's father at Śrī Ayodhyā.



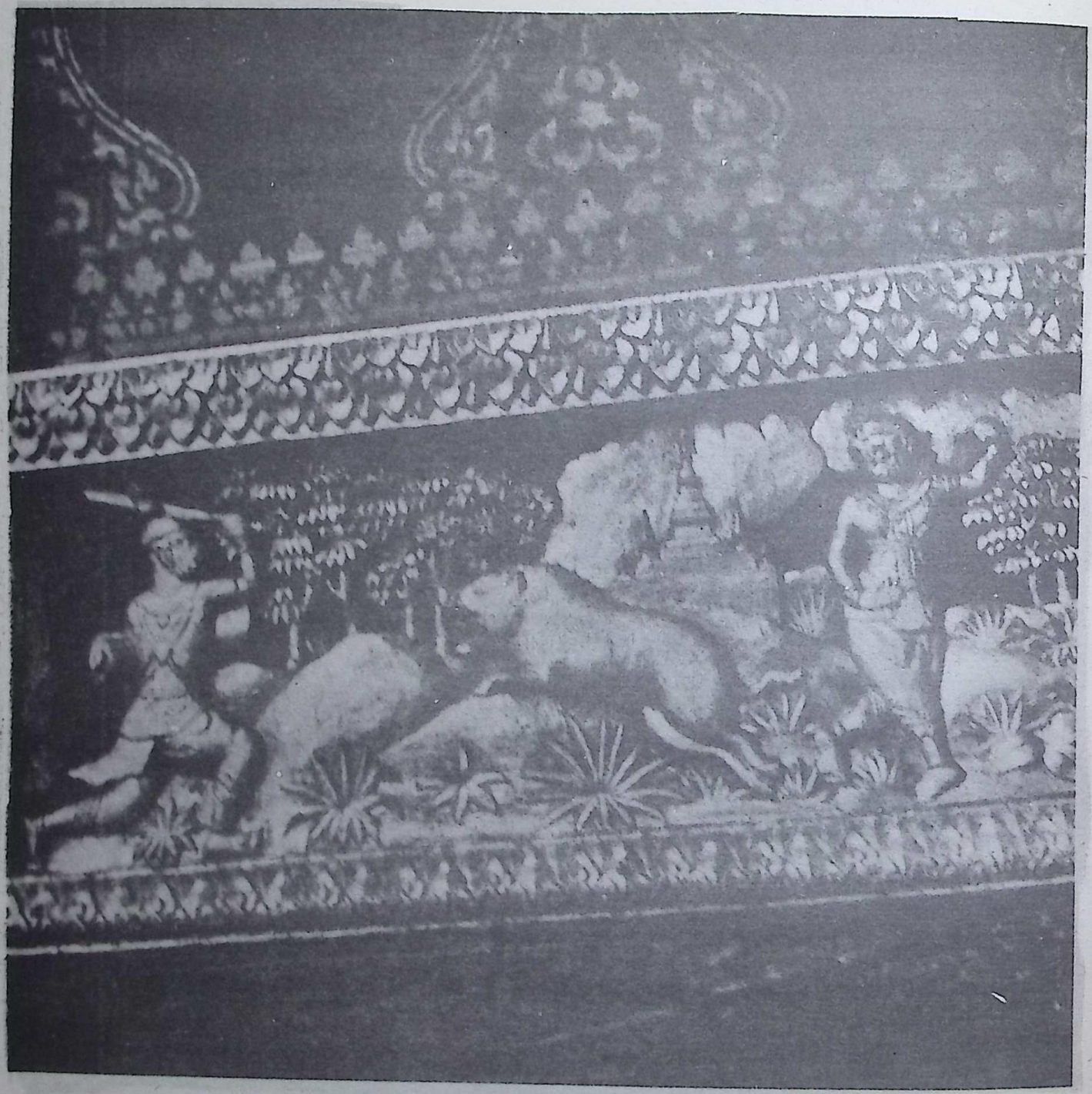
16. Vat Pa Ke, Luang Prabang. *Upper Part*: Phaly tells Sanghkip that he is going to fight Thoraphi in the cave. *Lower Part*: The entourage of Phra Phrot who has come to ask Rāma to return to Ayuthya.

17. Vat Pa Ke, Luang Prabang. Pali school of Prabang.



18. Bodhi Tree presented to Laos by Rashtrapati Rajendra Prasad when he visited Laos. His Excellency Sri Perala Ratnam, Madhavi Ratnam and Srimati Kamala Ratnam are seen in the centre of the picture.

19. Vat Mai, Luang Prabang, where the Rāmāyaṇa story is continued in paintings.



20. Vat Mai, Luang Prabang. Indra has sent Phra Narai who has changed himself into a boar, to punish Hiranta yak (yakṣa). Hiranta yak has enveloped the earth in his arms.

21. Vat Mai, Luang Prabang. Nonthok has the duty to wash the feet of all the devas. As a reward he receives a magic finger which kills the person at whom it is pointed. Accordingly Nonthok has killed all the devas and Indra has to ask Phra Narai to punish him. Phra Narai takes the form of a young girl Nang Appasone (apsarā). The appasone asks Nonthok to dance with her and cunningly makes him point his finger at his heart. Nonthok dies and Phra Narai predicts that he will be born in another form with 20 arms (in return of one finger) with magic power. His name will be Rāvaṇa and he will be king of Laṅkā.

22. Vat Mai, Luang Prabang. Nang Atchana (Añjanā) the wife of Rishi Khodom has given birth to two sons Vālin and Sugrīva adulturously through Indra and Agni. Her daughter Savaha (Svāhā) has informed her father the Rishi, of her mother's infidelity. Svāhā is then commanded by her mother to be tied to a mountain and stand on only one foot day and night. Indra takes pity on her and sends Phra Phai (Vāyu) god of the wind to impregnate her through the mouth. Of this a son Hanumat is born and Svāhā goes to heaven after his birth.

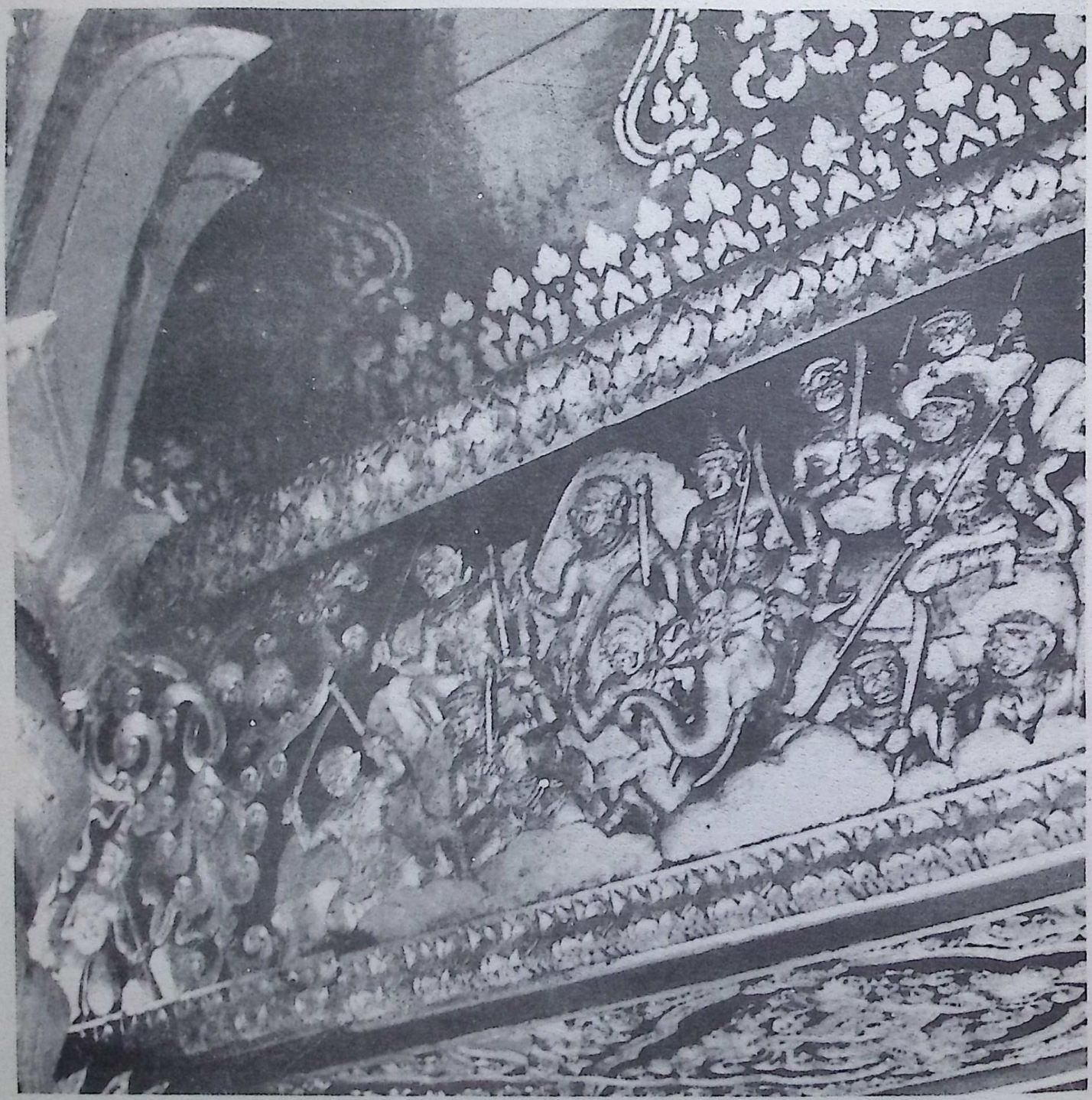
23. Vat Mai, Luang Prabang. Virounahok lives in Pātāla Lok. He is a yakṣa. He comes seven times a year to pray to Indra. This time when he came up he met a lizard. Mocked by his sound, he throws a part of his magic collar at it and kills it. The strength of the blow shakes Mount Meru and shakes the abode of the gods. Part of the lizard's body is in the next picture.

24. Vat Mai, Luang Prabang. Rāvaṇa has put back mount Meru on its base and steadied the dwelling of Indra who as a reward gives him Nang Montho wife of Vālin. Vālin however has seen the reflection of his wife in the arms of Rāvaṇa, he goes after him, defeats Rāvaṇa and brings back his wife.

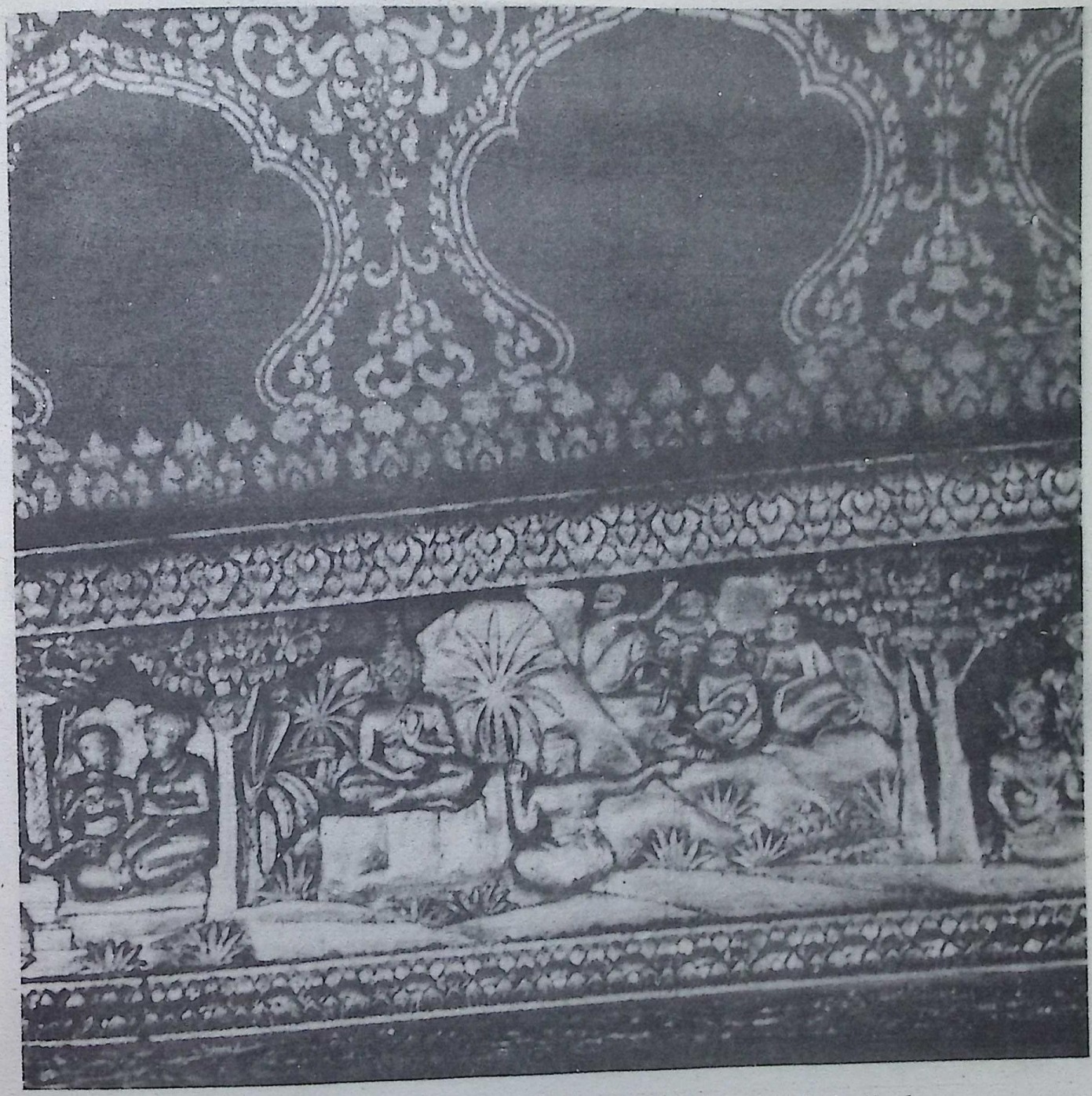
25. Vat Mai, Luang Prabang. Rāvaṇa by magic transforms himself into a giant crab for killing the young Ongkhot (Aṅgada) adulterous son of his wife and the monkey Vālin. He is surprised by Vālin and attacked.

26. Vat Mai, Luang Prabang. Rāvaṇa, elder brother of Kou Pen (Kumbhakarṇa) meets him and forces him to give him the crystal (magic) chariot. Earlier Kou-pen has gone to Indra (seen on his three-headed elephant) and Indra gives him the chariot.

27. Vat Mai, Luang Prabang. Kou-pen (Kumbhakarṇa) goes to heaven in the crystal chariot which Indra has given him for his services.

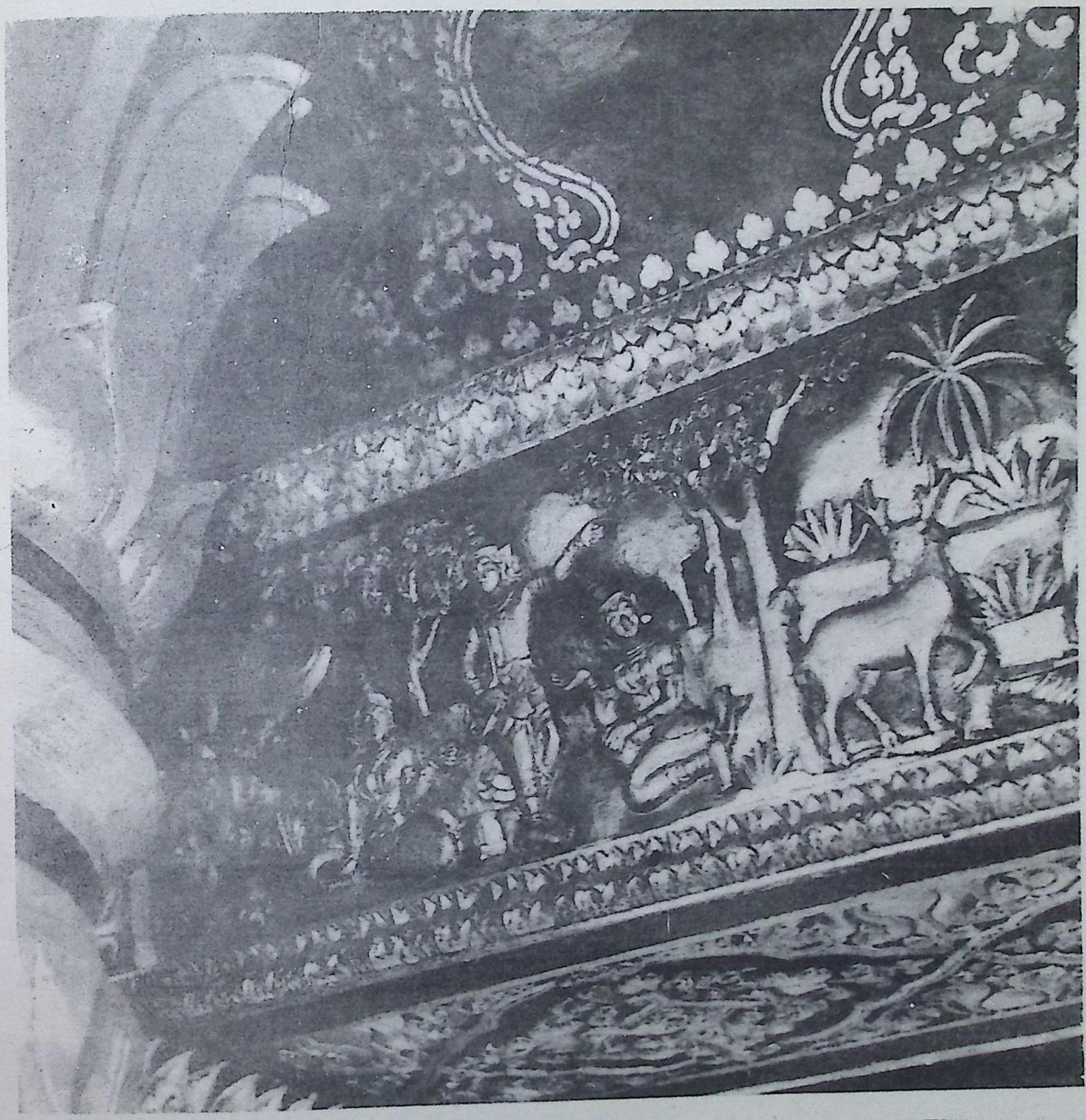


28. Vat Mai, Luang Prabang. Indra riding on his elephant in heaven. He is leading an attack on Rāvaṇa for taking away the crystal chariot from his brother Kou-pen (Kumbhakarṇa).

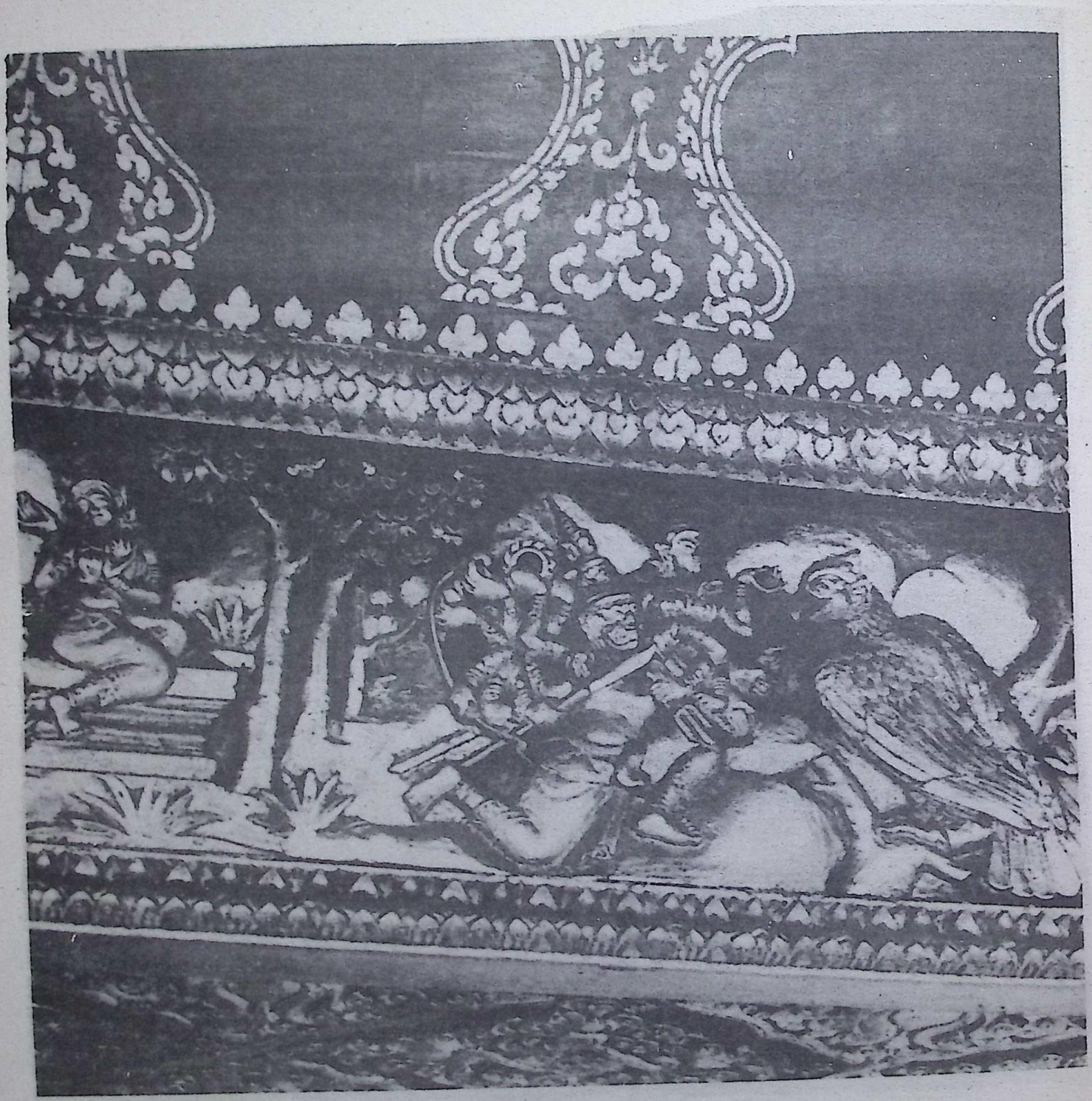


29. Vat Mai, Luang Prabang. Rishi in the forest. Indrajit has gone to the Rishi (Khoubot) for learning magic.

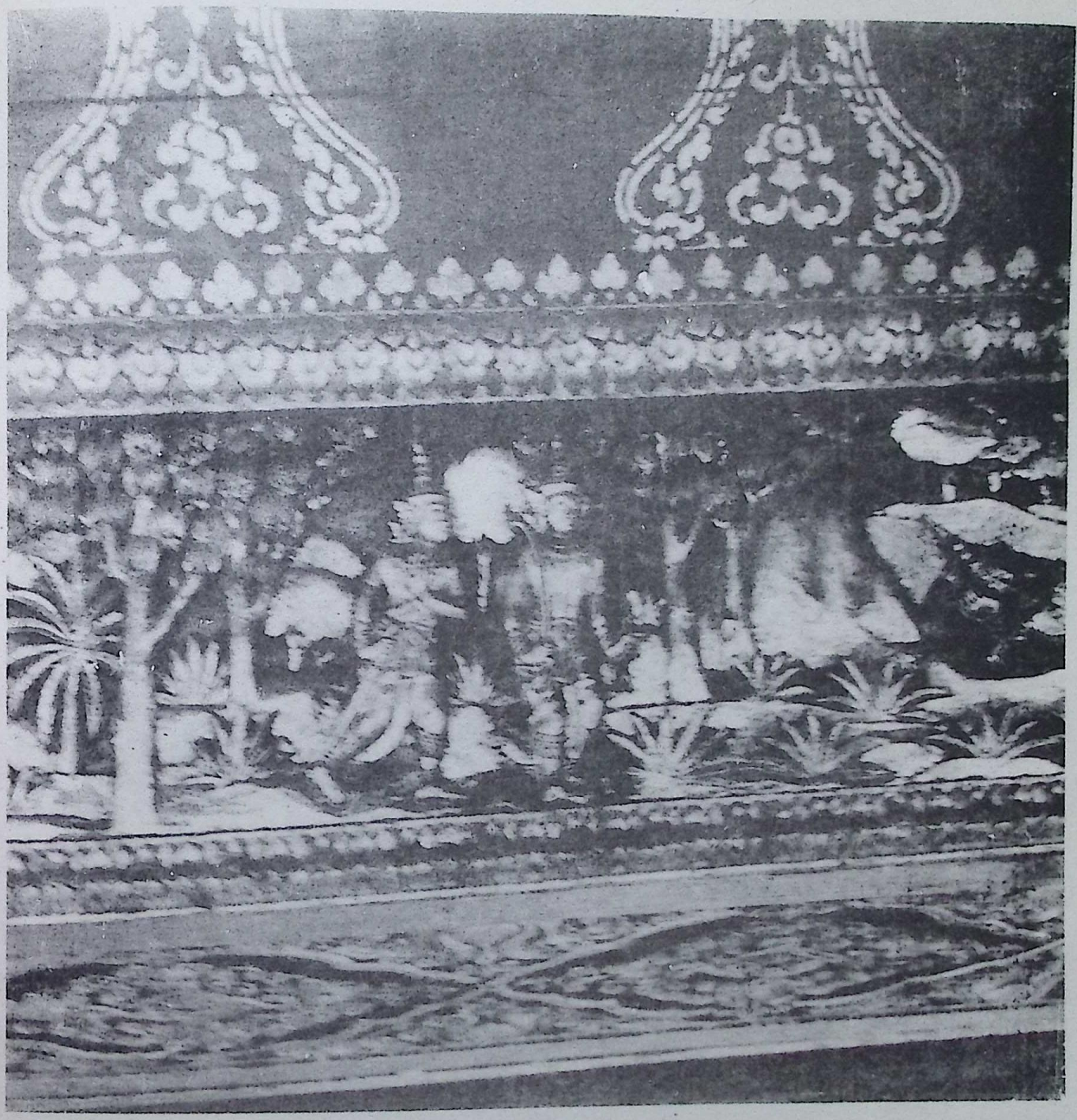
30. Vat Mai, Luang Prabang. After the victory over Hiranta yak, Phra Narai descends to rest on the King of the Nagas (Śeṣanāga) when Phra Inh sends the devas to him. Phra Narai (Viṣṇu) being beseeched by the gods to incarnate himself as Rāma for fighting the yak Nonthok who has been incarnated as Rāvaṇa.



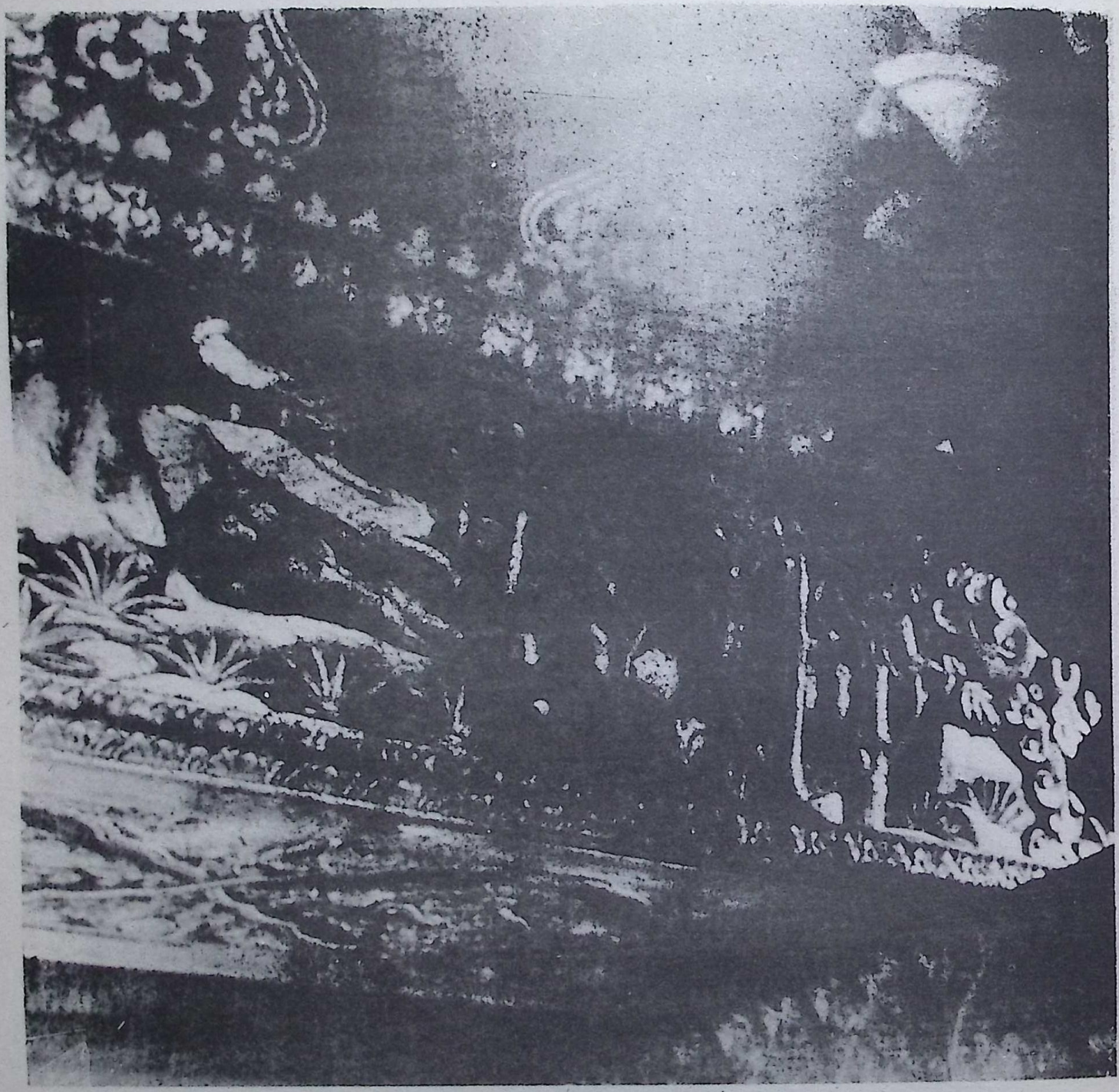
31. Vat Mai, Luang Prabang. Sītā asks Rāma to go and get the golden deer for her.



32. Vat Mai, Luang Prabang. Rāvaṇa fights the bird Jaṭāyu.

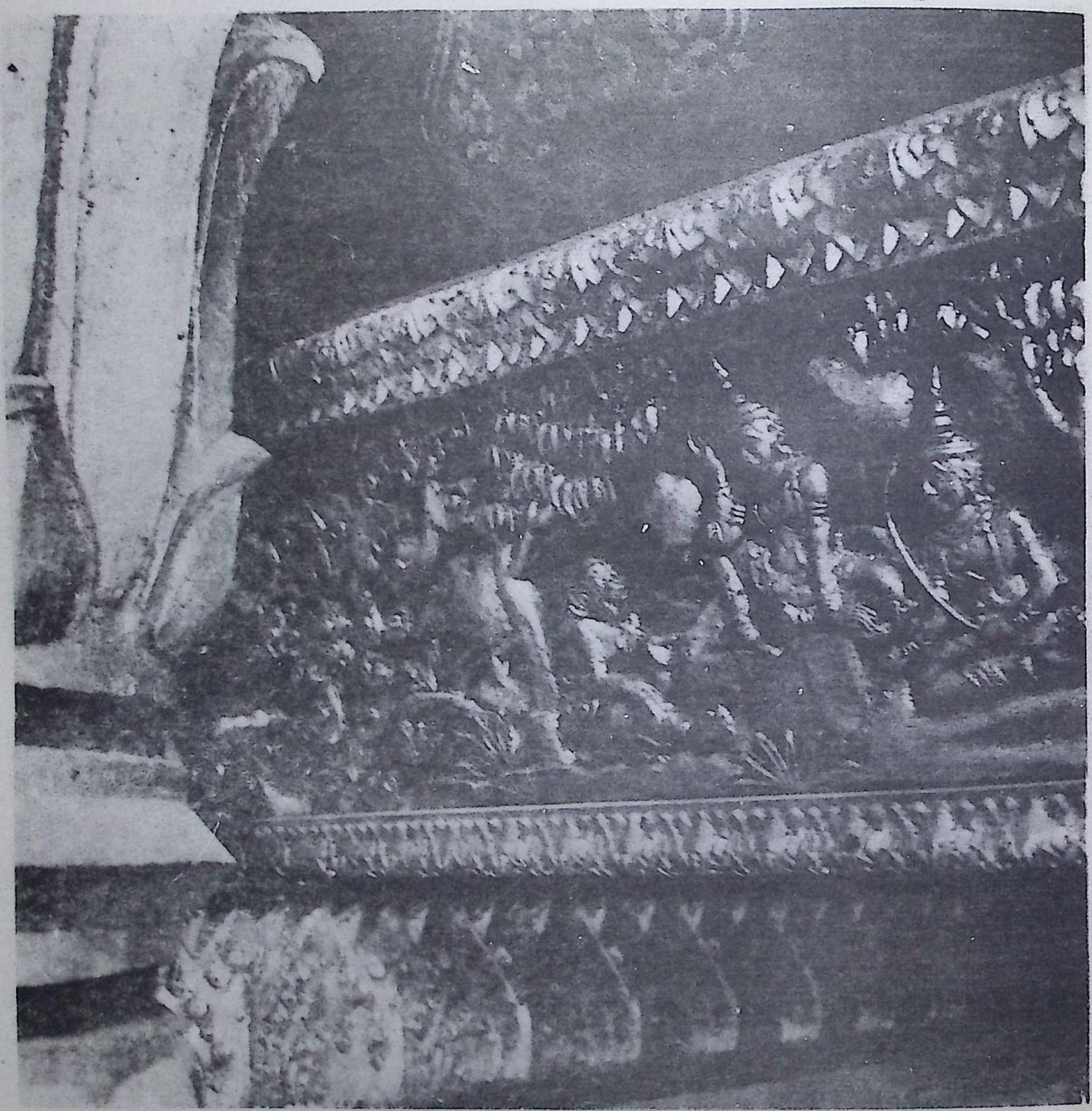


33. Vat Mai, Luang Prabang. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa look for Sītā in the forest.

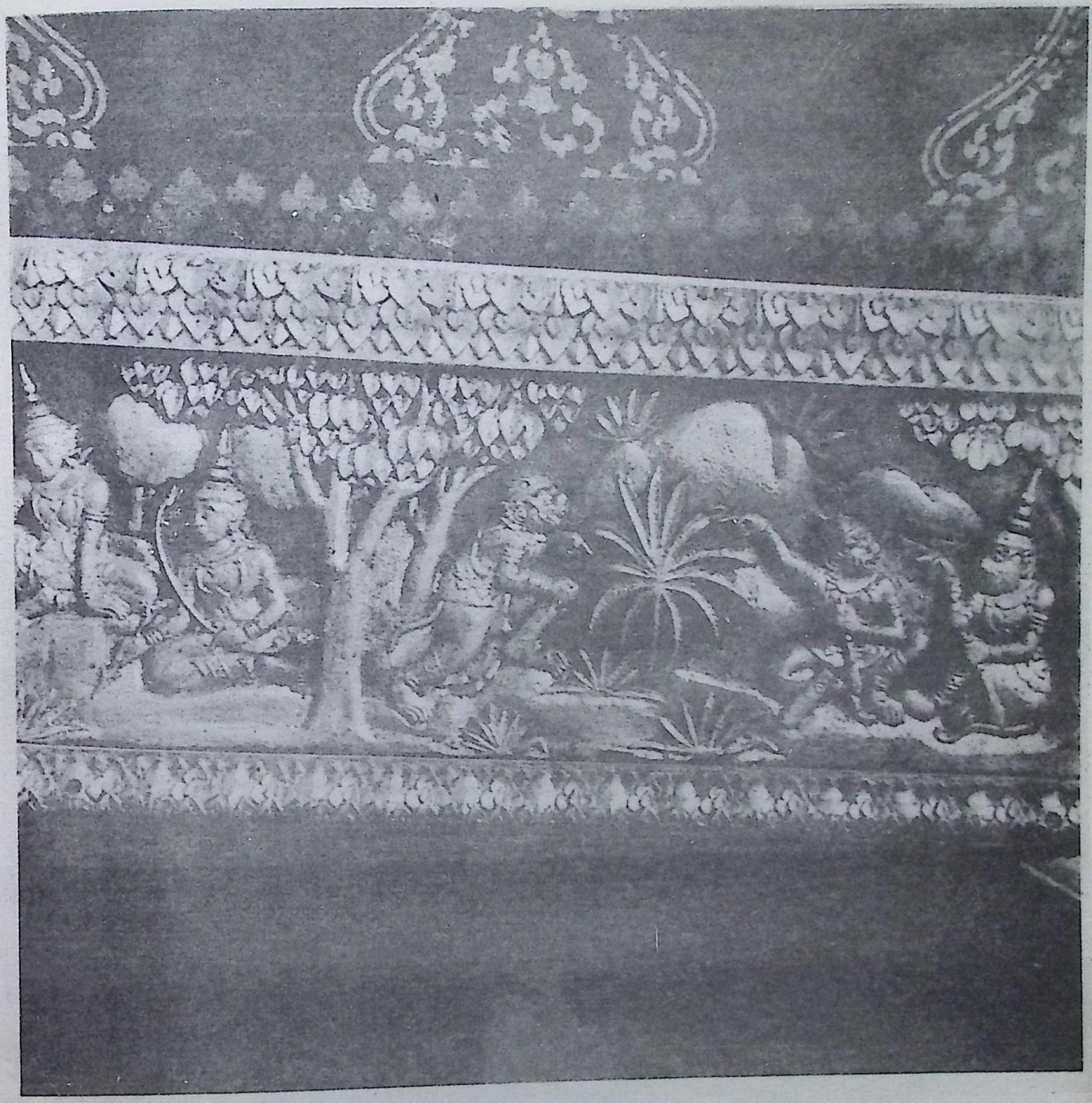


Vat Mai, Luang Prabang. Lakṣmaṇa keeps vigil as Rāma sleeps.

35. Vat Mai, Luang Prabang. Vālin and Sugrīva fight each other. Thoraphi lies dead at the mouth of the cave.



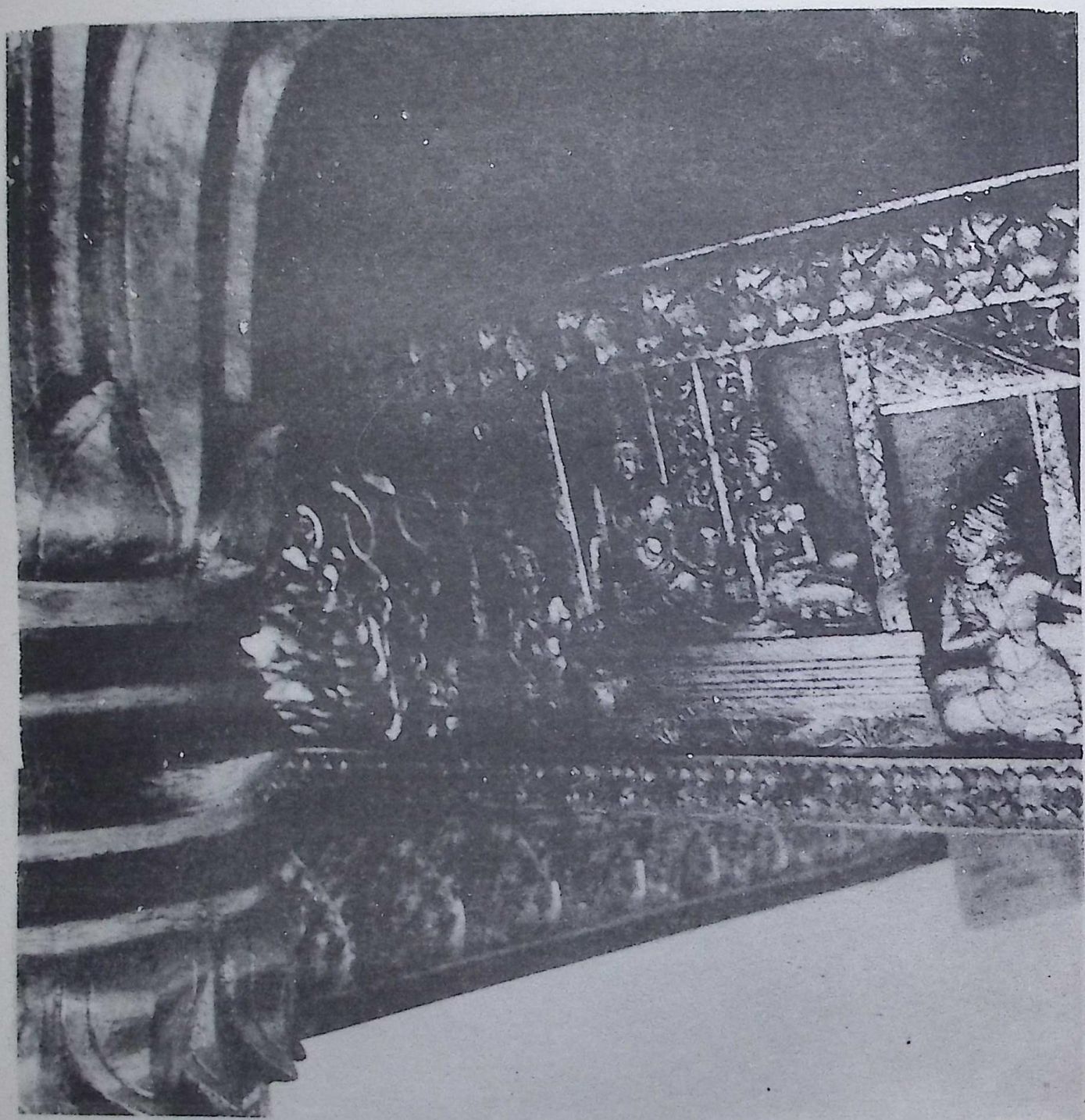
36. Vat Mai, Luang Prabang. Rāma laments for Sītā. He is attended by Lakṣmaṇa and a monkey.



37. Vat Mai, Luang Prabang. Sugrīva orders Hanumān to go and find Sītā.

38. Vat Mai, Luang Prabang. Planning to build the causeway (*setu-bandha*).

39. Vat Mai, Luang Prabang. Rāvaṇa seated with Mandodarī talks to the monkeys in his court.



40. Vat Mai, Luang Prabang. Rāvaṇa beseeches Sītā to marry him.

D. SEYFORT RUEGG, SEATTLE (USA)

ON TRANSLATING THE BUDDHIST CANON

(a dictionary of Indo-Tibetan terminology in Tibetan and Mongolian: the *Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byuṅ gnas* of Rol·pa'i·rdo·rje[1])

The *Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byuṅ gnas* is a very extensive classified list of terms from the different areas of knowledge—philosophical, religious and secular—covered by the treatises included in the canonical collection of commentaries and technical works in Tibetan and Mongolian translation, the bsTan·'gyur. Most known printed versions of this list seem to include the Mongolian equivalents of these terms which were required for the definitive translation into Mongolian of the bsTan.'gyur prepared in Peking between 1742 and 1749 at the command of the Emperor Ch'ien lung; but a version in Tibetan alone also exists[2]. The list itself was compiled between 1741 and 1742 by a close associate of the Emperor in Buddhist affairs, the second lCaṅ·skya·sprul·sku Rol·pa'i·rdo·rje also known as Ye·šes·bstan·pa'i·sgron·me (1717-1786)[3], with the assistance

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[1] This paper was read at the XXIXth International Congress of Orientalists at Paris in July 1973.

[2] This work is found in its Tibetan version alone in volume *ja* of the gSuṅ·'bum of Rol·pa'i·rdo·rje under the title *'Phags yul paṇ grub rnams kyi gsuṅ rab rmad du byuṅ ba bstan bcos 'gyur ro cog chen po hor gyi skad du 'gyur ba la ñe bar mkho ba'i dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byuṅ gnas* (in 212 folios); see Lokesh Chandra, *Materials for a history of Tibetan literature*, I, p. 198b.

On the bilingual prints of the work see W. Heissig, *Pekinger Lamaistische Blockdrucke in Mongolischer Sprache* (Wiesbaden 1954), pp. 86-87. The work seems to be under publication by R. E. Pubaev and B. D. Dandaron in Ulan Ude at the Buryat branch of the Siberian Section of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. So far the first two parts of the *Dag yig* (on the Prajñāpāramitā and the Madhyamaka) are said to have appeared, but the present writer has not had access to them.

[3] For reasons which he does not make clear W. Heissig states that the historical preface to the work (summarized below) is anonymous, adding that it may be the work of Siregetü guosi dharma (v. *Die Familien- und Kirchengeschichtsschreibung der Mongolen* I [Wiesbaden 1959], p. 159), although in his *Blockdrucke* (p. 86) he accepted the traditional attribution to Rol·pa'i·rdo·rje. Whether Rol·pa'i·rdo·rje himself composed every line of the work is of course not certain, since it was customary for eminent 'authors' in positions such as his to use a staff of collaborators and amanuenses, who may in many cases have been not only co-authors but in fact the real authors.

of the *khri chen sprul sku* Blo·bzaṅ·bstan·pa'i·ñi·ma·dpal·bzaṅ·po[4] and in collaboration with a large staff of other Tibetan and Mongol scholars who helped with the Mongolian translation. In Mongolian the work is known as *Merged γarquyin oron neretü toγtaγaγsan dagyig.*

Other more or less comparable bilingual dictionaries are known to have been composed by the Buddhists of Central Asia, the most famous being the *Mahāvyutpatti* (*Bye brag tu rtogs byed chen po*) compiled as a list of Sanskrit technical terms together with Tibetan equivalents for the use of the translators of the bKa'·'gyur and bsTan·'gyur during the early propagation of the Buddhist Dharma in Tibet at the beginning of the ninth century; mention can also be made of the short formulary from the Tun-huang collection of manuscripts published by J. Hackin[5]. In addition, a number of Tibetan-Mongolian vocabularies exist either alone or incorporated in larger polyglot dictionaries. But with respect to content the nearest equivalents of the *Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byuṅ gnas* are probably the well-known and often quoted terminological chapters of the later gSuṅ.'bum of Kloṅ·rdol·bla·ma which are in fact also known as *miṅ gi rnam graṅs* or enumerations of terms, and which seem to have found greater favour in Tibet than the *Dag yig* from which they however differ by being conceived of not simply as bilingual lists but more as an encyclopaedia.[6]

If the *Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byuṅ gnas* then partakes of the character of both a bilingual dictionary and a classified list of technical terminology, and if in accordance with this dual character blockprints of it exist both with and without the Mongolian equivalents, its primary purpose evidently was to serve as a normative prescription (*bkas bcad*)[7] establishing a bilingual list of terms needed for the translation into Mongolian of the bsTan.'gyur. Its purpose is clearly stated in the text itself where we read that it includes a systematic classification of words and terminology, a general outline of the differences between the new

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But the work was issued under the name of Rol·pa'i·rdo·rje and is included in his gSuṅ·'bum, so that it may be considered as much his as many other works of important church dignitaries.

[4] This is the *khri pa* of dGa'·ldan monastery, Blo·bzaṅ·bstan·pa'i·ñi·ma (1689-1746), often referred to as the dGa' ldan siregetü qutuγtu. Cf. *Blockdrucke*, p. 83f.

[5] J. Hackin, *Formulaire sanscrit-tibétain du Xe siècle* (Paris 1924).

[6] Kloṅ·rdol·bla·ma· Ṅag·dbaṅ·blo·bzaṅ (1719-1794). The *Miṅ gi rnam graṅs* chapters comprise only part of his gSuṅ·'bum (reprinted in two volumes by Ven. Dalama under the title of *Tibetan Buddhist Studies*, Mussoorie 1963, and recently by Lokesh Chandra, *The Collected Works of Longdol Lama*, New Delhi 1973).

[7] On the meaning of this term cf. N. Simonsson, *Indo-tibetische Studien* I (Uppsala 1957), p. 226f.

and old terminologies (*brda' gsar rñiṅ*)[8] and the terminological lists (*miṅ gi rnam graṅs*) required in different subjects needed for the translation of works relating to the various classical fields of knowledge (*rig pa'i gnas=vidyāsthāna*)[9], and that it was intended to be an aid for the translation into Mongolian of the treatises (*śāstra*) of the Indian scholars and adepts.[10]

The *Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byuṅ gnas* consists of the following eleven chapters:

I. *Phar phyin gyi skor* (terminology of the Prajñāpāramitā treatises, f. 23b-40a);
II. *dBu ma'i skor* (terminology of the Madhyamaka school, f. 1-16a);
III. *mṄon pa'i skor* (terminology of the Abhidharma, f. 1-89a);
IV. *'Dul ba'i skor* (terminology of the Vinaya, f. 1-65a);
V. *Grub mtha'i skor* (terminology of the doxographic treatises, f. 1-19a);
VI. *sṄags kyi skor* (terminology of the Mantrayāna, f. 1-20a);
VII. *gTan tshigs rig pa'i skor* (terminology of logic and epistemology [*hetuvidyā*], f. 1-18a);
VIII. *sGra rig gi skor* (terminology of grammar *[śabdavidyā]*, f. 1-27a);
IX. *bZo ba rig pa'i skor* (terminology of the sciences *[śilpa]*, f. 1-20a);
X. *gSo ba rig pa'i skor* (terminology of medicine, f. 1-30a); and
XI. *brDa' gsar rñiṅ gi skor* (words occurring in the old terminology *[brda' rñiṅ]*

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[8] *brda(')* *gsar* and *brda(')* *rñiṅ* are terms that designate respectively the new terminology and the old terminology of Tibetan, and not orthography or pronunciation as H. A. Jäschke (*Dictionary*, p. 298a), G. Huth (*Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei* II, p. 292) and W. Heissig (*Blockdrucke*, pp. 87 and 88) have variously translated the term *brda*, since the difference between the two only sometimes concerns two similar sounds or spellings (as below, f. 22b); just as often the difference is between two quite different and unrelated words.

Tibetan *brda* corresponds to Sanskrit *saṁketa* 'conventional terminology, nomenclature'.

[9] These are usually logic and epistemology, grammar, the mechanical sciences, medicine, and lexicography (the five subjects treated in the last five chapters of the *Dag yig*) or, alternatively, poetics. The lists of the *vidyāsthānas* differ; cf. Kloṅ·rdol·bla·ma, vol. ba: Mechanical sciences, medicine, grammar, epistemology, and the Buddhist Tripiṭaka, with poetry, metrics, lexicon, drama, and astrology listed in addition as the five sub-sciences.

[10] In addition to the complete title of the *Dag yig* given above (note 2), reference may be made to the following statements: *miṅ daṅ brda'i rnam bžag daṅ| brda' gsar rñiṅ gi dbye ba sogs che loṅ daṅ rig gnas so so'i gžuṅ bsgyur ba la mkho ba'i raṅ raṅ gi skabs kyi med du mi ruṅ ba'i miṅ gi rnam graṅs rnams...* (I, f. 18a); *rig pa'i gnas lṅa so so'i gžuṅ bsgyur ba la mkho ba'i miṅ gi rnam graṅs... thun moṅ la mkho ba'i brda' gsar rñiṅ gi dbye ba...* (I, f. 23b); *'phags yul paṇ sgrub rnams kyi gsuṅ rab rmad du byuṅ ba bstan bcos 'gyur ro cog chen po hor gyi skad du bsgyur ba la ñe bar mkho ba'i yan lag du dmigs nas...* (XI, f. 24a-b), a phrase which coincides with the title of the *Dag yig* indicated in Lokesh Chandra's *Materials* quoted above (in note 2) but with the better reading *bsgyur ba la* instead of *'gyur ba la.*

with their equivalents in the new terminology *[brda' gsar]*, f. 1-18b). In addition, in the first chapter we find a verse prologue (I, f. 1-4a) and a general preface to the whole work (I, f. 4a-23b). And the final chapter closes with some concluding remarks (XI, f. 18b-21a), a verse epilogue (XI, f. 21a-24a) and a colophon enumerating the collaborators in the work (XI, f. 24a-27a).

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It is with the preface, and in particular with the principles of translation and philology stated in it, that the present paper is concerned.

This preface (I, f. 4a-23b) is divided into several sections.[11] The first recounts very briefly the Life of the Buddha (f. 4a-6a); and the second goes on to relate in a few lines the salient points in the traditional history of Buddhism in India from the time of the first rehearsal of the Canon after the Buddha's Parinirvāṇa and the subsequent compilation, by Maitreya and other Bodhisattvas, of the Mahāyānist scriptures up to the time of Nāgārjuna, who retrieved the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* from its resting place, and Asaṅga, who brought Maitreya's teaching back from the Tuṣita to this world (f. 6a-7b). The next section deals equally briefly (f. 7b-8b) with the early history of Buddhism in China, the domain of Mañjuśrī's activity, and the following one recounts (f. 8b-12b) some of the main points in its history in Tibet, the domain of Avalokiteśvara's activity.

The next two sections take up subjects more closely connected with the immediate origins and historical background of the Mongolian Kanjur and Tanjur. The first of them sketches (f. 12b-14b) the history of Buddhism in Mongolia; and it refers in particular to Prince Godan and the chaplain-patron (*mchod yon*) relationship instituted between him and Sa·skya·paṇḍi·ta Kun·dga'·rgyal·mtshan, as well as to the remarkable religio-political relationship existing between Qubilai Qan and Sa'skya·paṇḍi·ta's nephew 'Phags·pa, who received the title of Imperial Preceptor (*ti šri = ti shih*) and the three divisions (*chol kha*) of Tibet from the Emperor who founded monasteries as well as temples and thus firmly established the course of the Buddha's Teaching in the Mongol (Yüan) realm. Reference is then made to the invention by 'Phags·pa of a new Mongolian alphabet known in Tibetan as the *hor yig*; but the author of the

[11] A short summary of the historical sections only of the preface has been given on the basis of the Mongolian text by W. Heissig, *Kirchengeschichtsschreibung*, p. 160-161. In some points the present summary based on the Tibetan differs slightly from Heissig's version.

Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byuṅ gnas observes that since this new alphabet was slightly defective many religious texts were not translated using it (f. 12b-13a).[12] The preface next speaks of the invitation extended to the scholar Chos·sku·'od·zer at the time of Qayisang Külüg (rg. 1308-1311). In this connexion it adds that the question arises as to whether this scholar and translator of Buddhist texts into Mongolian is the same person (known from the Tibetan sources) as the son of gSer·ldiṅs·pa gŽon·nu·'od·zer; and it concludes that since the relevant chronological information is in agreement, and since it is furthermore known that 'Phags·pa changed the name of Chos·kyi·'od·zer to Chos·sku·'od·zer, their identity is likely.[13] It is then stated that this Chos·sku·'od·zer added to the Mongolian alphabet the letters that it was still lacking and thus made it possible to translate many treatises (f. 13a-b).[14] Mention is also made of the invitation extended to the Tibetan scholar 'Jam·dbyaṅs·pa at the time of Buyantu Qan (rg. 1312-1320), and to that scholar's support for the preparation of an early sNar·thaṅ version of the bsTan·'gyur (f. 13b).[15]

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[12] For a discussion on the systems of writing used by the Mongols see P. Pelliot, *AM* 2 (1925), pp. 284-289. Cf. N. Poppe, *The Mongolian monuments in ḥP'ags-pa script* (Wiesbaden 1957), p. 1f.

[13] Notwithstanding this statement of the *Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byuṅ gnas*, it would seem that Chos·kyi·'od·zer, the translator into Mongolian, is to be distinguished from Chos·kyi·'od·zer~Chos·sku·'od·zer, the Tibetan scholar who was the son of gSer·sdiṅs·pa gŽon.nu·'od, the pupil of 'Jam·gsar Šes·rab 'od·zer, and the teacher of Thugs·rje·brtson·'grus (1243-1313) (v. 'Gos·gŽon·nu·dpal, *Deb ther sṅon po*, tha 9a, cha 5a, ña 10a-b). The Tibetan scholar was thus connected with the Jo·naṅ·pa school (see my article in *JAOS* 83 [1963], p. 80); according to Sum·pa·mkhan·po's *Re'u mig*, he lived from 1214 to 1292.

These two persons have been identified by several writers in the past, as appears from the bibliography given by F. W. Cleaves, The Bodhistw-a čari-a awatar-un tayilbur of 1312 by Čosgi Odsir, *HJAS* 17 (1954), p. 13f, who himself refers to the translator into Mongolian as a Tibetan (following perhaps the Chinese source he quotes on p. 15). The Index to the Mongolian bKa'·'gyur clearly refers to this translator as a Uighur (uyiγur-un čhos ki 'od zer paṇḍita, fol. 20 as reproduced in L. Ligeti, *Catalogue du Kanjur mongol imprimé* [Budapest 1942], p. 333). But in his note 101 Cleaves opines that 'Uiγur-un, in this instance, seems to be synonymous with Töbed-ün' although he himself adds that this is the only text cited by him 'in which an attribute of nationality appears in connection with the name of Čosgi Odsir'. The sources indicate that the translator into Mongolian and Kuo-shih lived later than his Tibetan namesake since they place him under Öljeitü (1295-1307), Külüg (1308-1311) and Buyantu (1312-1320).

[14] But see L. Ligeti, La version mongole des "Douze actes du Bouddha", *AOH* 20 (1967), p. 62. Cf. P. Pelliot, *op. cit.*

[15] See the present writer's *Life of Bu ston Rin po che* (Rome 1966), Introduction.

There follow some lines on Altan Qan of the Tümet and his invitation to the third Dalai Lama, bSod·nams·rgya·mtsho; their relationship resulted in the abolition in the Qan's realm of blood sacrifices and other wrong practices, the founding of temples, and the institution of a regular chaplain-patron (*mchod yon*) connexion with the dGe·ldan·pa school (f. 13b-14a). Soon afterwards the scholar Siregetü guosi čorjiva translated into Mongolian (*sog skad*)[16] the long, middle and short versions of the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, i. e. the *Śatasāhasrikā*, the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*, and the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (f, 14a).[17] Then under Ligdan Qutuγtu (rg. 1604–1634), Qan of the Čaqar, Kun·dga'·'od·zer and other Lotsabas gathered together and are said to have translated many texts, including the bKa'·'gyur (f. 14a).[18] Thereafter the practice of translation as well as of explanation and study of the Dharma became widely spread, and the whole of the Mongol country (*hor gyi yul ljoṅs*) adopted the pure way of virtue, revered the Three Jewels and adhered to good ways (f. 14a-b).

The historical part of the preface concludes with a brief account of the Manchu (Ch'ing) dynasty's support for Buddhism and of the history of the dGe·ldan·pa school in their realm from the time of Abahai (T'ai tsung) (f. 14b-16b). Special reference is made to the translation into Mongolian for the benefit of the Mongol people of the bKa'·'gyur under K'ang hsi (bDe·skyid, rg. 1661-1722).[19] Mention is next made of the fostering by Yung cheng of the combined good laws of the Dharma and the realm (*chos srid zuṅ du 'brel ba'i bka' khrims bzaṅ po*),[20] which included the foundation of religious institutions, support for the 'Yellow Hat' tradition (*žva ser cod pan 'chaṅ ba'i riṅ lugs*), achievement of spiritual experience in the Theory of the Madhyamaka (*dbu ma'i lta ba ñams su*

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[16] The term *sog skad* is found only here in the preface, which elsewhere speaks of *hor* and *hor skad*. In I, f. 16b2 we find *hor sog spyi*.

[17] Cf. Heissig, *Blockdrucke*, pp. 11, 29. On Siregetü guosi čorjiva see also Heissig, *Kirchengeschichtsschreibung*, p. 33f.

[18] On the translation of the canon under Ligdan Qan see W. Heissig, *Studia altaica* (Festschrift N. Poppe, Wiesbaden 1957), pp. 71-87; *Beiträge zur Übersetzungsgeschichte des mongolischen buddhistischen Kanons*, AAWGöttingen, Philol. -hist. Kl., 3. Folge, Nr. 50 (Göttingen 1962); *Religionen der Mongolei* (Stuttgart 1970), p. 331f. (and p. 421, where it is stated that this edition of the bKa'·'gyur consisted of 213 volumes); Zur Organisation der Kandjur-Übersetzung unter Ligdan-Khan, Zentralasiatische *Studien* 7 (1973), pp. 477-501. Heissig states that this undertaking was accomplished in 1628-1629.

[19] This edition was made in 1718-1720 in 108 volumes.

[20] This corresponds to the well-known concept of the *lugs* (or *khrims* or *gtsug lag*) *gñis=qoyar yosun*, a principle of polity that seems to go back to the concordat between 'Phags·pa and Qubilai; cf. G. Uray, *AOH* 26 (1972), p. 25 note 56. But at the same time it continues the old *mchod yon* relationship between a 'chaplain' and a 'patron'.

bžes pa), and the initiation of the printing of the bsTan·'gyur.[21] Since then Ch'ien lung, who is none other than Mañjuśrī-Kumārabhūta himself, maintains his grandfather's and father's good practices[22]; and considering it as a medicine for the health of all the Mongols in general (*hor sog spyi*), he commanded that the bsTan·'gyur be translated into Mongolian and printed. This command was respectfully received, and the translation was undertaken.[23]

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While the historical (or quasi historical) materials summarized above found in the first sections of the preface to the *Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byuṅ gnas* are known from other Tibetan and Mongolian sources,[24] the principles of translation and philology set out in the last section of this preface have seldom found expression in such a manner, the best known parallel being the principles of translation established for the benefit of the early Tibetan translators in the *sGra sbyor bam gñis*.[25] Since these principles as stated by the committee charged

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[21] For Yung cheng the text uses the appellation Ši tsuṅ=Shih tsung, the emperor's temple name; he reigned 1723-1735.

[22] Ch'ien lung, rg. 1736-1795, is not mentioned by name in the text, though the reference is clearly to him.—On Ch'ien lung's attitude towards Buddhism see W. Fuchs, *Die mandjurischen Druckausgaben des Hsin-ching*, AKM XXXIX/3 (Wiesbaden 1970), p. 4 note. The information available does *not* seem to support the often suggested idea that these emperors' interest in Buddhism was purely political, and that they used it simply as a means for subduing and controlling the Mongols (and Tibetans),

[23] Cf. 'Jig·med·rig·pa'i·rdo·rje (Tshe·'phel), *Hor chos 'byuṅ* (ed. Huth), pp. 183-185 for a parallel account.

[24] As a work with comparable contents W. Heissig mentions sMon·lam·rab·'byams·pa bsTan·'dzin·grags·pa's commentary, published in 1727, on the *J̌irüken-ü tolta* (attributed to the translator into Mongolian Chos·kyi.'od·zer); v. *Kirchengeschichtsschreibung*, pp. 161 and 117; L. Ligeti, *AOH* 20 (1967), p. 62-64.

[25] The *sGra sbyor bam gñis*, also known as the *Madhya-Vyutpatti*, is a treatise on the principles of translation from Sanskrit into Tibetan. The *Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byuṅ gnas* is based in part on it and paraphrases several of its sections.

According to its introduction and colophon, the *sGra sbyor* was composed in a horse-year during the reign of Khri·lde·sroṅ·btsan; this year could correspond to 802 or 814, and G. Tucci argues in favour of the latter date (v. *Tombs of the Tibetan Kings* [Rome 1950], p. 14-18; *Minor Buddhist Texts* II [Rome 1958], p. 48-49). The *sGra sbyor* has however been placed by Tibetan historians in the reign of King Ral·pa·can (=Khri·gtsug·lde·btsan), owing to the fact that Khri·lde·sroṅ·btsan has been indentified with Ral·pa·can; (v. *Bu ston chos 'byuṅ*, f. 130a [II, p. 197]); cf. G. Tucci, *Tombs*, p. 14, and N. Simonsson, *Indo-tibetische Studien*, p. 212, 247, 264.

with translating the Tibetan canon into Mongolian therefore possess considerable interest, a translation of this final section of the preface follows here.[26]

[16b3] While the basic linguistic elements (*skad kyi byiṅs*) of the various Mongol lands are similar, there are numerous dissimilarities in some minor points only.[27] In particular, [17a] no such thing as a normative prescription (*bkas bcad*) governing the application of words and terminology[28] exists for translating the Dharma [from Tibetan into Mongolian]. And when many translators employ various differing conventional usages,[29] each according to his own will, this is the basis for many faults such as difficulty in understanding for those who listen and reflect. Accordingly, it would be well to compose and print a summary and brief method for applying the conventional usage of words and terminology in the canon (*gsuṅ rab*) and then to circulate it everywhere. When the preceding had been submitted, the (imperial) command to do so was respectfully received.

Now, as to the establishment of this method, there exist the *Sum cu pa* and the *rTags kyi 'jug pa* composed by Thon·mi Sambhoṭa explaining the general system on how the Tibetan 'letters' function,[30] [17b] the *sGra sbyor bam gñis* composed as the normative prescription (*bkas bcad*) on how the translators and scholars at the time of King Ral·pa·can[31] were to translate the Dharma; and

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The *sGra sbyor* has been studied in some detail, by A. Ferrari, *Arthaviniścaya* (*Reale Acc. d'Italia, Memorie della classe di scienze morali e storiche* 7:4, Rome 1944), and N. Simonsson, *Indo-Tibetische Studien* I, p. 213, 227, 238f.

[26] On works in Mongolian which were prepared as aids for the translation of the bKa'·'gyur and bsTan·'gyur, see W. Heissig, *Blockdrucke*, p. 43, on Rab·'byams·pa Kun·dga'.rgya·mtsho's *Miṅ gi rgya mtsho*—a work that is, however, not mentioned in the *Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byuṅ gnas*, I f. 17b, where we should expect to find it listed among the lexicographical sources (on this work cf. I. J. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen* [St. Petersburg 1829], p. 326-327); p. 87.

[27] What is presumably meant here is: similar to the source language, Tibetan, (rather than similar to each other). In other words, it is stated that the language of the Mongols can be employed to translate the Word of the Buddha and the commentaries and treatises of the Paṇḍits and Siddhas from an established canonical language like Tibetan (see below).

[28] *miṅ brda' 'dogs tshul*. Tibetan *miṅ* and *brda'* correspond respectively to Sanskrit *nāman* 'word, term' and *saṁketa* 'conventional terminology, nomenclature'.

[29] *tha sñad* =Skt. *vyavahāra* 'conventional usage, term'.

[30] In Tibetan grammatical theory, grammar deals largely with the function or operation of 'letters' or grammemes (*yi ge'i 'jug tshul*).

[31] On the placing of the composition of the *sGra sbyor* in the reign of Ral·pa·can see above, note 25.

the large and small *Vyutpattis* (*Bye brag rtogs byed*) by Ka·ba, Cog·ro[32] and many other translators which are respectively an extended and a condensed systematic list of words (*miṅ gi rnam bžag*) occurring in the Sūtras. There are also the *Dag yig 'od zer brgya pa* of sTag·ston gŽon·nu·dpal, the *sGra don rgya mtsho'i me loṅ* of Bu·ston Seṅ·ge·'od,[33a] the *sMra rgyan* of Byams·pa·gliṅ·pa, the *'Khrul spoṅ* of bSam·ldiṅs·pa,[33] the *Ža ma tog* of Ža·lu·lo·chen,[34] the *Ṅag sgron* of dPal·khaṅ·lo·tsā·ba, systematic treatises on the new and old terminologies (*brda' gsar rñiṅ gi rnam bžag ston pa*)—the *Li ši gur khaṅ* of sKyogs·ston[35]—and the one by dBus·pa Blo·gsal[36]—, and the *Ñer mkho bsdus pa* of Blo·ldan·šes·rab. And there are numerous commentaries on the *Sum cu pa* and the *rTags kyi'jug pa* composed by many excellent persons.

A systematic treatment of words and terminology taken from the preceding works, [18a] general points such as the difference between the new and old terminologies (*brda'gsar rñiṅ*), and terminological lists (*miṅ gi rnam graṅs*) required for different subjects needed for the translation of the texts relating to the various fields of knowledge (*rig pa'i gnas*) will be set out in separate chapters in the present work in accordance with our ability.

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[32] Ka·ba (or sKa·ba) dPal·brtsegs and Cog·ro Klu'i·rgyal·mtshan. dPal·brtsegs is said to have collaborated also in the compilation of the *lDan dkar ma* Catalogue, which G. Tucci dates to 800 or, more probably, 812 (*Minor Buddhist Texts* II, p. 48 note), in the reign of Khri·lde·sroṅ·btsan. On the date of the *Mahāvyutpatti* and the *sGra sbyor* see the sources cited above, p. 249 note 25. What is meant by the 'Small *Vyutpatti*' is uncertain since no such work seems to have been preserved (cf. N. Simonsson, *Indo-tibetische Studien* I, p. 227, who assumes it to be a lost work). The *Bye brag tu rtogs byed chuṅ ṅu* is mentioned in the colophon of the *sGra sbyor* (Simonsson, p. 263); and Bu ston (*Chos 'byuṅ*, f. 130a, II. p. 197) and other Tibetan authorities speak of three *bkas bcad*. Cf. P. Cordier, *Catalogue du fonds tibétain*, III, p. 488.

[33] On this abbot of Žva·lu, see Žva·lu·ri·phug Blo·gsal·bstan·skyoṅ's *mKhan brgyud* (the *dPal ldan žva lu pa'i bstan pa la bka' drin che ba'i skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar lo rgyus ṅo mtshar dud pa'i 'jug ṅogs* [1835]), p. 180b; cf. D. Seyfort Ruegg, *Life of Bu ston Rin po che* (Rome 1966), p. 94.

[33a] This name is spelt bSam·sdiṅs·pa in A·khu Šes·rab·rgya·mtsho, *dPe rgyun dkon pa 'ga' žig gi tho yig*, ed. Lokesh Chandra, no. 12924.

[34] Žva·lu·lo·chen Rin·chen·chos·skyoṅ·bzaṅ·po (Dharmapālabhadra, 1441-1528), the ninth *mkhan chen* of the *mkhan brgyud gsar ma* (see Blo·gsal·bstan·skyoṅ's *mKhan brgyud* referred to above in note 33). On his *Rin po che'i za ma tog bkod pa* composed in 1514 cf. B. Laufer, *Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft der Tibeter*, SBayAW, Philos.-Philol. Kl., 1898, pp. 519-594.

[35] The *Li ši'i gur khaṅ* was completed in 1716 (*gdoṅ ṅan*). On the Mongolian version of the work by Bilig-ün Dalai dating to 1742, see B. Vladimircov, *Dokl. Ak. Nauk* 1926, p. 27; Heissig, *Blockdrucke*, p. 88.

[36] dBus·pa·Blo·gsal lived in the 14th century. It is not clear what work is referred to here.

In this regard and in general the Precious Teaching of the Victor (Jina) is good in its beginning, middle and end, and it is the unique Eye illuminating the path to liberation and omniscience for those seeking deliverance. Hence, intending that this very method should remain long in the world the Lotsaba-translators have attended exclusively to cherishing the Sage's Teaching and they have rejected any thoughts falling into desire for profit and fame.

[18b] Both the expression (*tshig*) and meaning (*don*) aspects have been carefully examined with an impartial mind.[37] Those who did not themselves properly understand first resolved their doubts by carefully questioning any persons of higher and lesser degree renowned as scholars, and they then brought clear and easily intelligible expressions into harmony with the meaning and translated well. If one does so one is able greatly to increase the amount of good in one's own and others' conscious streams (*rgyud*); and becoming a person who has accomplished the needful for the Teaching of the Victor one will acquire boundless quantities of merit. Otherwise one is filled up with the proud idea that one is learned although one is not oneself learned, and in one's partial thinking the eye of the intellect becomes obscured by repulsion for others notwithstanding the fact that they are learned. Those who hold the Good Dharma to be of little importance and therefore casually take pleasure in translating the maximum number of books simply do not consider the fact that [19a] hard to bear pain arises for all—themselves and others—as a result of adulterating the pure Word of the Buddha with the dirty water of erroneous and faulty expressions.

Once the advantage and the disadvantage have thus been determined. the method of translating itself consists in the following principles.

When phrases (*tshig*) of the text if translated following the order of the Tibetan language are easily understandable in Mongolian and their meaning is not confused, the translation will be made accordingly. Otherwise, when the

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[37] Tib. *tshig*=Skt. *pada*. While in ordinary usage the term may mean 'word', in the vocabulary of the Abhidharma system and in usage influenced by it where *miṅ*=*nāman* corresponds to 'word', *tshig*=*pada* means 'phrase, sentence' The term is also used as the correlate of *don*=*artha* 'meaning' and it can then mean 'expression, form' as opposed to meaning. On the meaning of *pada*(*kāya*) and *nāma*(*kāya*) in the Abhidharma see Vasubandhu, *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* 2.47; cf. Kloṅ·rdol·bla·ma, vol. pa (p. 336), and *Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byuṅ gnas*, VIII, f. lb-2a: *don gyi ṅo bo tsam brjod pa miṅ/ khyad gži khyad chos su 'brel nas ston pa tshig/*

Further on the text gives the grammarians' definition according to which *miṅ*=*nāman* 'name, substantive' is a semantic unit, and *tshig*=*pada* 'finished word' is a complete grammatical unit consisting of stem and suffix (VIII, f. 4b-5a, cf. Pāṇini 1.4.14: *suptiṅantam padam*). Compare below, f. 19a, the expression *tshig lhug pa* 'prose phrase'.

meaning is clearly understandable and easily expressed [only] if the order is changed, in the case of verse the translation will be made by making changes, as is most felicitous, within the limits of a single verse; and in the case of prose phrases (*tshig lhug pa*) the translation will be made by changing, as is most felicitous, one, two, three or more phrases [19b] so long as these phrases refer to a certain given meaning.[38] However, it is most important that the unfolding of the meaning be not disturbed; and careful consideration must be given to how the force[39] of the phrase is to be brought out.[40]

Moreover, if the translation is in some place made according to the Tibetan, the Mongolian text will contain many redundant expressions (*tshig*) so that it often happens that the meaning is obscured. Therefore, without impairing the meaning in these cases one may excise a redundant expression. But in some instances, because it also happens that the semantic force may not be complete if one does not add a few words (*tshig zur*), the translation will be made by adding words (*skad zur*) that help to clarify the meaning and are not empty expressions.

With regard to a word (*miṅ*) capable of referring to different meanings (*don du ma la bsñeg tu ruṅ ba*), after careful consideration has been given it in context it [20a] will be translated as referring to a certain meaning provided that it can be determined unequivocally. But if it cannot be so determined, and if in Mongolian no translation—equivalent (*skad dod*) referring to both meanings is available, the Tibetan expression will be retained.[41]

Moreover, when the names of individuals such as scholars and adepts or kings and ministers and the names of countries, flowers, trees and so forth are translated, after an appropriate word such as 'paṇḍit' 'king', 'flower', etc. has been added either before or after the difficult words hard to understand and, in general, those which, though translatable, are doubtful in meaning, the Indian or Tibetan original is to be retained.[42]

In the case of the commentaries on the great basic texts, if the respective

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[38] *tshig de dag gi don gaṅ du bsñegs pa yan chad du.* Cf. *sGra sbyor* (Simonsson, p. 249): *rkyaṅ pa la ni don gaṅ sñegs pa yan chad kyi tshig daṅ don gñis ka la gar bde bar bsnor žiṅ sgyur cig.* The verb (*b*)*sñegs pa* is used in practically the same sense as *'jug pa* (=Skt. *vartate*) 'to occur (in a meaning), to refer to, to mean'. Thus below, f. 19b3, *miṅ gcig don du ma la bsñeg tu ruṅ ba* has practically the same meaning as *miṅ gcig don du ma la 'jug pa* (VIII, f. 5).

[39] *nus pa* Cf. Skt. *śakti* 'semantic capacity; force.'

[40] This same principle is found in the *sGra sbyor* (Simonsson, p. 248-249).

[41] See *sGra sbyor* (Simonsson, p. 250-253).

[42] See *sGra sbyor* (Simonsson, p. 253).

[20b] basic book has been previously translated the words also of the basic text [as quoted] in the commentary are to be made to follow the former; otherwise, the translation [of the commentary] is to be made after the basic book has been translated and fitted in the commentary.

With regard to the expressions (*tshig*) in a debate between a proponent of a doctrine and his opponent,[43] it is necessary to translate the proofs and refutations with incisive and easily understandable expressions after careful consideration of the essential thought of both of them in relation to each other and the course of the debate.

Moreover, in respect to expressions for praise, blame, surprise, dejection and fear for instance, the translation will use suitable expressions known to all in Mongolian which have great force (*nus pa*) and are able to affect the mind.

Even if it is evident in some place that the meaning is not well expressed [21a] or is incorrectly expressed by a text, the translation will be in accordance with what the author of the text has written. And no correction taken from the correct exposition in another text will be introduced, for if one were to do so the diverse systems of the teachers would become confused.

In texts of instructions (*gdams ṅag*), the name of gods, ritual materials, numbers, etc. referred to by other 'hidden expressions' (*gab tshig*) are to be translated in just that manner.[44] They are not to be translated plainly by the proper terms, for the motive for the hidden[45] would thus disappear.

In poetry also reference is made by means of appellative words (*mṅon brjod kyi miṅ*), such as 'beautiful necked' (*mgrin bzaṅ*) for a donkey; and the translation is to be made by means of the same word rather than by means of the [21b] proper term, for if one did so there would be no [poetical] beauty.

Moreover, in the case of the two [terms] 'basic consciousness' (*rtsa ba'i rnam šes*=**mūlavijñāna*) and 'universal base' (*kun gži*=*ālaya* [*vijñāna*]), the base (*gži*) that is the meaning referred to (*don bsñegs pa*) is almost identical; but the way the Mahāsāṃghikas and the followers of the Cittamātra apply the words

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[43] *rgol ba*=*vādin*, and *phyir rgol* (*ba*)=*prativādin*.

[44] In the Tibetan translation of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* 3.96f., *gab tshig* translates *prahelikā* 'enigmatic expression'; Daṇḍin enumerates sixteen varieties. None however seems to correspond exactly to what is referred to here in the *Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byuṅ gnas*; and the Tibetan word has probably to be understood in a wider sense, in accordance with its literal meaning, as 'hidden expression'.

[45] *gab pa'i dgos pa*. Tib. *dgos pa*=Skt. *prayojana* 'purpose, motive'. (In the so-called Dhvani school of Indian poetics the *prayojana* is not directly expressed, but it is indirectly apprehended through 'resonance'.)

and the way they explain them are slightly different.[46] In such cases also the translation will follow what is said in the respective texts. The conventional usages are, however, not to be confused by considering them to be synonymous.

Moreover, since the two [terms] *bden par grub pa* and *raṅ gi mtshan ñid kyis grub pa* are synonymous according to the Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyamika, there exists the possibility of translating the one as the other; but because they are quite different according [22a] to the Svātantrika, it is quite impossible to take them as synonyms.[47] Since there are many such instances, one must know how to translate them in accordance with the respective systems after careful consideration.

Moreover, whereas for the Mādhyamika *bdag med* and *bden med* are similar in import, on the level of the lower philosophical systems (*grub mtha' 'og ma*) it is accepted that all factors (*dharma*) are not self (*bdag med pa*: *anātman*), but it is not accepted that they are untrue (*bden med*).[48] Such highly important differences also must be kept apart. For otherwise, if without reflection one were to confuse the conventional usages with each other by taking them to be on all occasions synonymous because one has seen them explained in one thesis as having the same meaning, all the various differences in the philosophical systems would be confounded.

[22b] Moreover, there are other differences. For example, there is the difference between the expressions (*tshig*) for the past, present and future, as in *grub pa/bsgrub pa/'grub pa* or *bcom/gžom/'joms*. There is the difference in what is expressed by morphemes (*sgra*) for the agent (*byed pa*) and the patient (*las*), as in *'dis rñed pa* 'he (or she, or it) obtained'/*'di rñed pa* 'he (or she, or it) is obtained'. The difference in whether the particle (*sgra tshig*) *kho na* is placed first or afterwards—as in *saṅs rgyas kho na yon tan daṅ ldan*—'the Buddha alone is in possession of the qualities (*guṇa*)' and *saṅs rgyas yon tan daṅ ldan pa kho na* 'the Buddha is indeed in possession of the qualities'—serves to express respectively (i) exclusion of connexion [of the qualifier] with another [than the qualificand, viz. the Buddha] (*gžan ldan rnam gcod=anyayogavyavaccheda*) and (ii) exclusion of

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[46] On the **mūlavijñāna* of the Mahāsāṃghikas and the *ālayavijñāna* of the Vijñaptimātra school see Asaṅga, *Mahāyānasamgraha* chap. 1; L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Siddhi*, pp. 178-179, 398.

[47] See *Dag yig*, II, f. 10b-11b; 15a; *lCaṅ skya grub mtha'*, ṅa, pp. 350, 363, 411.

[48] The 'lower' Siddhāntas or philosophical systems are those of the Vaibhāṣikas, Sautrāntikas and Yogācārins, who take some *dharmas* as true or real, though they of course consider them to be *anātman*.

non-connexion [between the qualifier and the qualificand] (*mi ldan rnam gcod= ayogavyavaccheda*).[49] And in the new terminology (*brda' gsar*) *'phral ba* has the meaning of separation, but in the old terminology (*brda' rñiṅ*) it is the equivalent of *dpral ba* 'forehead'.[50] It will thus be necessary to translate after [23a] these numerous differences have been carefully considered in context.

Moreover, in Mongolian the difference between verse and prose and the relative length of verses are not the same as in Tibetan. Nevertheless, verses are to be made approximately similar in sound, complete meaning, easy intelligibility, and length of their lines;[51] and sometimes, as in eulogies and prayers, nothing stands in the way of using ornaments (*rgyan* = *alaṃkāra*) of a similar kind well-known in Mongolian. In the Great Treatises, however, this is not to be done because the meaning would otherwise be obscured by introducing redundant expressions in quantity.

Moreover, if it proves to be necessary to coin anew a terminology (*brda'*) which is not found in this and other treatises on the establishment of terminology (*brda' sbyor*), having taken recourse to a college for translation (*bsgyur ba'i* [23b] *grva*) without applying [a term] arbitrarily because one holds it to be suitable, one will translate in a manner that is not contrary to the treatise (*gžuṅ*) and the logical reason (*gtan tshigs*).[52]

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[49] Tib. *kho-na*=Skt. *eva*.

See Dharmakīrti, *Pramāṇavārttika* 4.190-192 (=*Pramāṇaviniścaya* 2):

ayogaṃ yogaṃ aparair atyantāyogam eva ca|
vyavacchinatti dharmasya nipāto vyatirecakaḥ||
viśeṣaṇaviśeṣyābhyāṃ kriyayā ca sahôditaḥ|
vivakṣāto 'prayoge 'pi tasyârtho 'yam pratīyate||
vyavacchedaphalaṃ vākyam yatas caitro dhanurdharaḥ|
pārtho dhanurdharo nīlaṃ sarojam iti vā yathā||

See also his *Svavṛtti*, p. 2.

[50] In this case the difference between the 'old' and the 'new' term consists in a difference in orthography; but, as noted above, this is not the case for all differences between the two, for sometimes the words are unrelated forms.

[51] Compare the statement made by Georges Bonneau in his *Le problème de la poésie japonaise, technique et traduction* (Paris 1938) concerning the translation of Japanese poetry, which is also syllabic: 'La poésie japonaise étant syllabique, [il faut] respecter dans la traduction le nombre des syllabes de chaque vers, ou, si impossible, la proportion entre le nombre de syllabes de chaque vers'.

[52] Cf. *sGra sbyor* (Simonsson, p. 259): *chos kyi gžuṅ daṅ sgra'i lugs las ji skad du 'byuṅ ba'i gtan tshigs daṅ chos la ji skad du gdags pa dpyad de...*

These principles constitute an introduction and a summary normative prescription (*bkas bcad*) on how to translate the Dharma.

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Translation has always been an important matter for the Buddhists, for already in the earliest period a discussion arose as to whether everyone was to be able to learn the Buddha's words each in his own language.[53] In earlier times the question was no doubt chiefly one of transposition from one Indo-Aryan language into another closely related one; but with the spread of Buddhism outside the area in which Indo-Aryan predominated, and in particular with its spread to Central and East Asia, the need for real translations into unrelated languages became a living issue. While the Chinese approach to the matter was conditioned by the millenial Chinese cultural traditions and was therefore quite complex,[54] the Tibetans sought almost from the outset to develop a regular system of translation; beside the translations themselves the *Mahāvyutpatti* and the *sGra sbyor bam gñis* bear testimony to this effort, which is reflected in the establishment of an official *bkas bcad*. Given then the importance to the Tibetans of translation and its attendant philological and methodological problems, and in view of the very considerable success they achieved in overcoming them, it is remarkable that the statements on the subject made in the *sGra sbyor* as well as in the *Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byuṅ gnas* are not only brief but even somewhat sketchy in their definition of the problems and their solutions. Though their results clearly show that the translators into Tibetan were by no means unaware of the philological and cultural problems involved, they did not submit them to an extensive theoretical treatment in these two works. The *Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byuṅ gnas* indeed itself states that it has given only a summary

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[53] See *Cullavagga* 5.33. Vinaya ii, p. 139. The Pali expression used is *sakāya niruttiyā*, where *nirutti*=Skt. *nirukti* evidently means 'language' —Cf. F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit grammar* (New Haven 1953), p. 1f.; E. Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien* I (Louvain 1958), p. 607f., who also discusses the Chinese translations of the passage in question.

[54] See W. Fuchs, Zur technischen Organisation der Übersetzungen buddhistischer Schriften ins Chinesische, *AM* 6 (1930), pp. 84-103; Y. T'ang, On Ko-yi, the earliest method by which Indian Buddhism and Chinese thought were synthesized, in S. Radhakrishnan, ed., *Comparative studies in philosophy* (1950), pp. 276-286; K. Ch'en. Some problems in the translation of the Chinese Buddhist canon, *Tsinghua journal of Chinese studies*, NS 2/1 (1960), pp. 178-188; *Buddhism in China* (Princeton 1964), p. 365f.; A. E. Link, Biography of Shih Tao-an, *TP* 46 (1958), p. 43f.; *JAOS* 77 (1957), p. 1f. and 81 (1961), p. 283f,; F. J. Meier, Probleme der chinesischen Übersetzer des buddhistischen Kanons, *OE* 19 (1972), p. 41f.

of the principles of translation and the associated philological problems.

As already noted above, the *Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byuṅ gnas* provides us with paraphrases of several sections of the *sGra sbyor bam gñis*, and it thus helps to clarify some of the obscurities in the text of that difficult old Tibetan work. In some respects the *Dag yig* is more detailed than the *sGra sbyor*. This is seen for example in its reference to differences in philosophical terminology between the Buddhist schools; such awareness is indeed to be expected from a writer like Rol·pa'i·rdo·rje, who is also the author of one of the best known Tibetan histories of Buddhist philosophy, the *Grub mtha'i rnam par bžag pa gsal bar bšad pa Thub bstan lhun po'i mdzes rgyan*. The *Dag yig* moreover devotes a paragraph to the ethical and psychological qualifications that a responsible translator must have. But from the points of view of philology and the techniques of translation the statements of the *Dag yig* are hardly more advanced than those of the *sGra sbyor*. The principles followed, more or less reflectively, by the translators of the Buddhist canon into Tibetan have therefore to be elicited mainly from the study of the translations themselves, for as far as can be judged the approach of the translators was more practical than theoretical and conceptualized.

The interest of the *Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byuṅ gnas* lies then in the fact that it reflects the latest stage in the translation of the Buddhist canon by the translators of Central Asia, and that its paraphrase of the principles set out in the earliest known treatment of the subject, the *sGra sbyor bam gñis*, helps to clarify the phraseology of that ancient text. And notwithstanding the fact that the *Dag yig* was compiled primarily as a bilingual list of terms needed for the translation into Mongolian of the bsTan·'gyur, the Tibetan version circulating without the Mongolian equivalents, as in the print of the Tibetan gSuṅ·'bum of Rol·pa'i·rdo·rje, also possesses considerable usefulness as an extensive classified vocabulary of Indo-Tibetan technical terms similar in content to Kloṅ·rdol·bla·ma's later and more encyclopaedic *Miṅ gi rnam graṅs* chapters. Unlike Kloṅ·rdol bla·ma's work, however, and like the *sGra sbyor* and the *Mahāvyutpatti*, the *Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byuṅ gnas* was issued under royal authority and as an instrument for translating the canon.

TIBETAN TEXT

(*Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byuṅ gnas*, ka, f. 16b3-23b1)

de la yaṅ chen po hor gyi yul gru so so'i skad kyi byiṅs 'drā yaṅ [17a] zur cuṅ zad tsam re mi 'dra ba maṅ žiṅ| khyad par du chos bsgyur ba'i miṅ brda' 'dogs tshul bkas bcad 'dra ba žig mi 'dug pas| lo tstsha ba du mas so sor raṅ raṅ gi 'dod pas tha sñad mi mthun pa sna tshogs sbyar tshe thos bsam byed pa rnams kyis rtogs dka' ba sogs ñes pa du ma'i gžir 'gyur bas gsuṅ rab kyi miṅ brda'i tha sñad 'dogs lugs rags bsdus žig sbyar nas spar du bsgrubs te| kun la khyab par byas na legs tshul žus par de ltar gyis žig pa'i bka' rtsal [sic] ba spyi bos mnos te| tshul de 'god par bya ba la| de yaṅ bod kyi yi ge'i 'jug tshul sogs spyi'i rnam bžag ston pa thon mi sambho ṭas mdzad pa'i sum cu pa daṅ rtags kyi 'jug pa| khri ral pa can gyi dus [17b] su lo paṇ rnams kyis chos bsgyur tshul bkas bcad du mdzad pa sgra sbyor bam gñis| ka cog sogs lo tstsha ba du mas mdo las 'byuṅ ba'i miṅ gi rnam bžag du ma bsdus pa bye brag rtogs byed che chuṅ| gžan yaṅ stag ston gžon nu dpal gyi dag yig 'od zer brgya pa| bu ston seṅ ge 'od kyi sgra don rgya mtsho'i me loṅ| byams pa gliṅ pa'i smra rgyan| bsam ldiṅs pa'i 'khrul spoṅ| ža lu lo chen gyi za ma tog| dpal khaṅ lo tstsha ba'i ṅag sgron| brda' gsar rñiṅ gi rnam bžag ston pa skyogs ston gyi li ši gur khaṅ daṅ dbus pa blo gsal gyis mdzad pa| blo ldan šes rab kyi ñer mkho bsdus pa| gžaṅ yaṅ dam pa maṅ pos mdzad pa'i sum rtags kyi ṭikka sogs maṅ du yod pa las 'dir ni de dag rnams las 'byuṅ ba'i [18a] miṅ daṅ brda'i rnam bžag daṅ| brda' gsar rñiṅ gi dbye ba sogs che loṅ daṅ rig gnas so so'i gźuṅ bsgyur ba la ñe bar mkho ba'i raṅ raṅ gi skabs kyi med du mi ruṅ ba'i miṅ gi rnam graṅs ji ltar nus pa bžin du le tshan so sor bri bar bya'o||

de la spyir rgyal ba'i gsuṅ rab rin po che ni thog mtha' bar gsum du dge ba| grol ba don du gñer ba rnams la thar pa daṅ thams cad mkhyen pa'i lam gsal bar byed pa'i mig tu gyur pa ša stag yin pas| bsgyur byed lo tstsha rnams kyis kyaṅ tshul 'di ñid 'jig rten du yun riṅ du gnas na ci ma ruṅ sñam pa'i bsam pas thub bstan gces par 'dzin pa 'ba' žig yid la brnags te| khe 'dod daṅ grags 'dod phyogs su lhuṅ ba'i yid spaṅs| gzu bo'i blos [18b] tshig daṅ doṅ gyi cha la legs par dpyad| raṅ gis ji lta ba bžin ma šes pa rnans mkhas par grags pa mchog dman su la yaṅ ruṅ ste legs par dris šiṅ the tshom bcad nas| tshig gsal žiṅ go bde ba don daṅ mi 'gal bar byas te legs par bsgyur na| raṅ gžan gyi rgyud la legs tshogs du ma spel bar nus šiṅ| rgyal ba'i bstan pa la bya ba byas par 'gyur bas bsod nams kyi phuṅ po gžal du med pa 'thob par 'gyur gyi| gžan du na raṅ ñid mkhas pa min kyaṅ mkhas par rlom pas dregs| gžan mkhas par gyur kyaṅ de la phyogs su lhuṅ ba'i yid kyis sdaṅ bas blo mig bsgribs| dam pa'i chos la gal chuṅ ṅu bzuṅ bas ñi ma 'phul thabs kyi sbyor bas po ti ji maṅ maṅ du bsgyur ba la dga' ba dag gis [19a] ni| saṅs rgyas kyi bka' dri ma med pa log bšad ñes bšad kyi btsog chus bslad pa'i 'bras bu raṅ gžan kun la 'di phyir bzod par dka' ba'i sdug bsṅal 'byuṅ ba la cir yaṅ mi sems par zad do|| de ltar phan yon daṅ

ñes dmigs lsgs par ṅes par byas nas bsgyur tshul dṅos la/ gžuṅ gi tshig rnams bod skad kyi go rīms [sic] ji lta ba bžin du bsgyur na hor skad la go bde žiṅ/ don 'khrugs par mi 'gyur ba rnams ni de ji lta ba bžin du bsgyur bar bya žiṅ/ de lta ma yin par tshig goṅ 'og bsnor na don go ba gsal žiṅ brjod bde ba rnams ni tshigs bcad yin na šo lo ka gcig gi naṅ du gaṅ bde bar snor žiṅ bsgyur ba daṅ/ tshig lhug pa rnams ni tshig gcig gam gñis sam gsum sogs tshig de dag gi doṅ gaṅ [19b] du bsñegs pa yan chad du gaṅ bde bar snor žiṅ bsgyur bar bya/ 'on kyaṅ don sṅa phyi 'khrugs par mi 'gyur ba gal che la/ de yaṅ tshig de ka'i nus pa 'don lugs la legs par brtags dgos so//

yaṅ 'ga' žig bod skad ji lta ba bžin bsgyur na hor yig la tshig lhag ha caṅ maṅ bas don gyi cha bsgribs pa lta bu yaṅ maṅ du yod pas/ de la ni don la mi gnod par byas te tshig lhag rnams dor bas chog la/ skabs 'ga' žig tu tshig zur cuṅ zad re ma bsnan na don gyi nus pa mi rdzogs pa lta bu yaṅ yod pas/ de la ni don gsal ba la phan žiṅ tshig ror ma soṅ ba'i skad zur bsnan nas bsgyur bar bya'o//

miṅ gcig don du ma la bsñeg tu ruṅ ba rnams ni ltag 'og la legs par brtags te/ phyogs gcig la ṁag gcod [20a] du ruṅ na gar bsñegs pa der bsgyur la/ thag gcod du mi ruṅ šiṅ [sic] hor skad la phyogs gñi kar bsñegs pa'i skaḍ dod ma rñed na ni bod skad sor gnas su bžag par bya'o//

yaṅ paṇ grub daṅ rgyal blon la sogs pa'i gaṅ zag gi miṅ daṅ yul daṅ me tog daṅ rtsi šiṅ la sogs pa'i miṅ bsgyur na go dka' žiṅ tshig mi bde ba daṅ/ 'ol spyir bsgyur du ruṅ yaṅ don de ltar yin min gtol med pa rnams la ni miṅ gi mgo mjug ji ltar rigs par paṇḍi ta daṅ rgyal po daṅ/ me tog žes sogs gaṅ la bya ba'ı miṅ gcig bla thabs su bsnan nas rgya gar skad dam bod skad sor bžag tu bžag par bya'o//

gžuṅ chen moi' 'grel pa rnams la raṅ raṅ gi rtsa ba'i dpe sṅar bsgyur zin pa yod na 'grel [20b] pa'i naṅ gi rtsa ba'i tshig kyaṅ de daṅ mthun par bya la/ med na sṅon du rtsa ba'i dpe bsgyur žiṅ de yaṅ 'grel pa la bstun nas bsgyur bar bya'o//

rgol phyir rgol gyi rtsod pa'i tshig rnams ni phan tshun gñi ka'i bsaṃ pa'i gdeṅs daṅ rtsod pa 'gro lugs legs par brtags te bsgrub ṅag daṅ sun 'byin pa'i ṅag rno žiṅ go bde ba'i tshig gis bsgyur dgos so//

gžan yaṅ bstod pa'i tshig daṅ/ smad pa'i tshig daṅ/ ṅo mtshar ba'i tshig daṅ/ skyo bar 'gyur ba'i tshig daṅ/ 'jigs pa'i tshig lta bu rnams la ni/ hor skad du kun la grags pa nus pa che žiṅ yid 'khul btub pa skabs su babs pa'i tshig gis bsgyur bar bya'o//

gžuṅ gis don legs par ma šod pa'am log par bšad par mṅon pa 'ga' žig 'dug na'aṅ [21a] gžuṅ rtsom pa pos ji ltar brtsams pa ltar bsgyur bar bya yi/ gźuṅ gžan gyi legs par bšad pa las blaṅs te 'chos par mi bya ste/ gal te de ltar byas na slob dpon rnams kyi lugs so so ba rnams 'khrug par 'gyur ba'i phyir ro//

gdams ṅag gi gžuṅ rnams su lha daṅ rdzas daṅ graṅs sogs kyi ṁiṅ gab tshig gžan gyis bstan pa rnams ni de ji lta ba bžin bsgyur bar bya yi/ raṅ miṅ rjen par mi bsgyur te/ de ltar na gab pa'i dgos pa med par 'gyur ba'i phyir ro//

yaṅ sñan dṅags kyi skabs su mṅon brjod kyi miṅ gis bstan pa boṅ bu la mgriṅ bzaṅ žes pa lta bu yuṅ miṅ de ñid kyis bsgyur bar bya yi raṅ miṅ [21b] gis mi bsgyur te| gžan du na mi mdzes par 'gyur ba'i phyir ro||

gžan yaṅ rtsa ba'i rnam šes daṅ kun gži žes pa gñis don bsñegs pa'i gži phal cher gcig yin kyaṅ phal chen sde pa daṅ sems tsam pa gñis kyis miṅ 'dogs lugs daṅ bšad tshul cuṅ zad mi 'dra ba lta bu rnams kyaṅ raṅ raṅ gi gžuṅ las ji ltar 'byuṅ ba ltar bsgyur bar bya yi| don gcig pa la bsams nas tha sñad phan tshun bsre bar mi bya'o||

yaṅ bden par grub pa daṅ| raṅ gi mtshan ñid kyis grub pa gñis dbu ma thal 'gyur ba ltar na don gcig pas gcig yod sar gcig šos su bsgyur chog pa'i skabs yod mod kyaṅ| dbu ma raṅ rgyud pa ltar na de [22a] gñis šin tu mi 'dra bas don gcig par byed mi ruṅ ba lta bu yaṅ maṅ bas| legs par dpyad nas raṅ raṅ gi lugs ltar bsgyur šes dgos so||

gžan yaṅ bdag med daṅ bden med gñis kyaṅ dbu ma pa ltar na 'gaṅs dra na yaṅ| grub mtha' 'og ma'i skabs su chos thams cad bdag med par khas len kyaṅ bden med du khas mi len pa sogs kyi khyad par 'gaṅs che ba rnams kyaṅ phyed dgos te|gžan du na phyogs gcig la don gcig tu bšad pa mthoṅ bas skabs thams cad du don gcig par bzuṅ nas ma brtags par tha sñad phan tshun bsres na grub mtha' rnams kyi mi 'dra ba'i khyad par mtha' dag 'chol bar 'gyur ba'i phyir ro||

[22b] gžan yaṅ grub pa| bsgrubs pa| 'grub pa| žes daṅ| bcom| gžom| 'joms žes pa lta bu 'das pa daṅ da ltar ba daṅ ma 'oṅs pa'i tshig gi khyad par rnams daṅ| 'dis rñed pa daṅ| 'di rñed pa lta bu byed pa daṅ| las kyi sgras bstan pa'i khyad par daṅ| saṅs rgyas kho na yon tan daṅ ldan žes daṅ| saṅs rgyas yon tan daṅ ldan pa kho na žes pa lta bu kho na žes pa'i sgra tshig gi goṅ 'og tu 'jug pa'i khyad par gyis gžan ldan rnam gcod daṅ| mi ldan rnam gcod kyi tshig tu 'gyur tshul daṅ| 'phral ba žes pa brda' gsar la so sor phye ba'i don la 'jug na'aṅ brda' rñiṅ la dpral ba'i skad dod yin pa lta bu sogs maṅ du yod pa rnams legs par ltag 'og [23a] la brtags nas bsgyur dgos so||

gžan yaṅ hor skad la tshigs bcad daṅ lhug pa'i khyad par daṅ| tshigs bcad kyaṅ rkaṅ pa riṅ thuṅ sñoms pa sogs bod skad ji lta bu bžin mi 'byuṅ na'aṅ tshigs su bcad pa rnams ni sñan 'jebs don rdzogs pa go sla ba rkaṅ pa riṅ thuṅ kyaṅ phal cher sñoms pa bya žiṅ bstod pa daṅ gsol 'debs lta bu 'ga' žig la hor skad la grags pa'i mgo mtshuṅs kyi rgyan lta bu byas kyaṅ 'gal ba med la| gžuṅ chen mo rnams la ni de ltar mi bya ste| gžan du na tshig lhag maṅ du 'jug pas don bsgribs par 'gyur bas so||

gžan yaṅ brda' sbyor gyi gžuṅ 'di daṅ gžan dag tu mi 'byuṅ ba'i brda' gsar du sbyor dgos pa byuṅ na raṅ raṅ gi sar [23b] 'dod pas raṅ dgar mi 'dogs par bsgyur ba'i grvar gtugs te gžuṅ daṅ gtan tshigs daṅ mi 'gal bar bsgyur bar bya'o||

de dag ni gleṅ gži daṅ chos bsgyur tshul bkas bcad mdo tsam mo||